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MEMOIRS

TO SERVE FOR

THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I

EMPRESS JOSEPHINE

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MEMOIRS

TO SERVE FOR THE

HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I

From 1802 to 1815

BY

BARON CLAUDE-FRANÇOIS DE MÉNEVAL

Private Secretary to Napoleon, First Consul and Emperor, Maître des Requêtes at the Council of State under the Empire, Officer of the Legion of Honour and of the order of the Iron Crown

(BORN IN PARIS IN 1778, DIED IN THE SAME CITY IN 1850)

THE WORK COMPLETED BY THE ADDITION OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, AND ARRANGED AND EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

BARON NAPOLEON JOSEPH DE MÉNEVAL

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ROBERT H. SHERARD

WITH PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAITS AND AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

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TO SERVE FOR

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From 1802 to 1815.

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THE Emperor's return was hastened on by a very grave crisis which affected the Bank of France. The intensity of this crisis was attributed to various causes which are mentioned in detail further on. The depreciation of public paper occasioned thereby was aggravated by a manœuvre arranged in London, and about which the English newspapers of the time boasted. This manœuvre consisted in producing by concerted means a bad rate on the Paris market, in order to spread doubts as to the Bank's solvency, and to excite a public panic, which would send all the holders of Bank of France notes rushing to the Bank to get cash in exchange. *

*"The object of the operation was to ruin the Bank of France by suddenly creating a deficit, that is to say, by taking advantage of the present state of things to take the Bank by surprise with a sudden return of all the bank notes in circulation. We abstained from speaking of this earlier, so as to await the result of the operation, and not to jeopardize its success by revealing it too soon. As the stroke must have been made at the time of writing, there is no further objection to mentioning it."—*The Observer*, (a London newspaper) Sept. 22nd, 1805.

The primary cause of the fall in public securities was the emission of a very large number of receiver-general debentures which were negotiated for the realization of funds necessary for an operation made in the name of the contractors to the French provision company. This company had been previously charged with the supply of all the provisions for the Spanish fleet at Brest. This colossal operation proceeded from an agreement which M. Ouvrard, the representative of the company, had induced the King of Spain, who was to share in the profits, to conclude. The company undertook to supply the Spanish-American colonies with everything they required in the way of provisions, and to export all the productions, and all gold and silver which these countries produced. This double commercial and banking operation, almost unexampled, and beyond the forces of the richest banks of the present day, would have secured prodigious profits to the company, had it been able to carry it out. Whilst awaiting the realization of the funds which were to be drawn from the Spanish colonies, immense capital was necessary. The funds at the disposal of the provision society were far from being adequate. The Bank, thanks to the influence of one of its governors, who was one of the directors of the company, readily accepted all the company's paper. The Public Treasury, on its side, gave the company receiver-general debentures in exchange for their promissory notes, so that the Bank was in the position of having issued more notes than it had cash to meet them with, and the Treasury had nothing but the company's paper in its chests, instead of bills of real value. The company succeeded in drawing from the Treasury bonds to the extent of

more than one hundred million francs in the financial year of 1806. The negotiation of these bonds having become known, and malevolent manœuvres having intensified the evil, the public took alarm, and stormed the bank to get its notes converted into cash.

The Emperor heard of this financial crisis with great anxiety. Immediately after his return to Paris he called together a council, in which he caused himself to be informed on all the operations of the provision company, the embarrassed state of which was in consequence exposed. The Minister of the Treasury could with difficulty defend and justify such financial transactions. The Emperor could only accuse him of a want of prudence—for his honesty was above doubt—and blame him severely. The Emperor made M. Ouvrard come to the council as the principal author of operations which he was bound to consider as fatal to the Public Treasury. Still under the impression of the critical situation to which the want of resources would have reduced him, and of the incalculable disasters which would have come upon France if he had lost the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon addressed the severest reproaches to M. Ouvrard. He said, amongst other things, in a violent fit of indignation, that he wished he could raise a gallows sufficiently lofty to hang him on, as a lesson to the whole of France. M. Ouvrard, who was standing behind the Grand Judge's chair, bore this attack without appearing in the least affected by it, and without saying a single word in his defence. He withdrew without any confusion, although the Emperor had very roughly ordered him to go away. Whenever bankers were in question, Napoleon always remembered with bitterness how he had been forced,

on the 18th Brumaire—all the public chests being empty—to address himself to the bankers to procure the means for governmental necessities, and how he had to make agreements with them of the kind which young gentlemen of family make with usurers. This resentment, which was perhaps too exclusive, will not surprise those who know how much he detested speculative financial operations and usurious profits, and to what a degree he esteemed regularity, order, and economy.

Napoleon pursued the job-mongers without respite, and when he was unable to bring them into the clutches of the law, he would disgrace them for ever by means of the printing-press. The *Moniteur* is full of articles holding them up to public contempt. The examination which he had made of the accounts of people who had the audacity to represent themselves as creditors of the State had proved, on the contrary, to his satisfaction, that the claims were unsound, and that they were debtors to the Public Treasury. The experience which, in this respect, he had acquired in Italy, and in the command of his armies, had inspired him with a prejudice against the jobbers, which was often only too well justified. As Napoleon had found amongst the contractors more robbers of the public purse, and more corrupters of morals, than anywhere else, this class more particularly excited his detestation. As much as he hated the publicans, who had grown rich by immoral means, so much did he respect those whose fortunes had an untarnished source, and who had acquired them by their honesty, their industry, and their intelligence.

On the morrow of the painful scene which M. Ouvrard had had to endure, one of his friends, a M. Haller, came to dine with the Minister of Finance. He spoke

to the minister of the bankers' affair, which at that time was occupying everybody's mind, and told him that he had heard with pleasure that this matter, which at first had appeared so menacing for its authors, was under way of settlement, that the Emperor had not wished to appear satisfied with M. Ouvrard's explanations, but that in his heart he readily admitted his genius for finance. M. Haller went so far as to add that M. Ouvrard expected to receive later on the decoration of the Legion of Honour, as a mark of the Emperor's appreciation of his talents. The Minister was stupefied at the effrontery of those who gave such a complexion to the issue of an operation of which the promoters had so little reason to be proud. If the man who had been the soul of this enterprise entertained such a hope, there is less reason for surprise. His confidence in his own genius was unshakable, and he yielded blindly to his vocation for enormous financial enterprises. During the Hundred Days, the Emperor addressed himself again to M. Ouvrard, who was to be commissioned with the supplies for the army. The loss of the battle of Waterloo put an end to their relations.

Napoleon obliged the bankers to return all the bonds they held to the Treasury, and sequestrated their property as security for what they still had to restore.

Authentic documents* give a total of one hundred and forty millions as the amount owing to the Treasury by M. Ouvrard and his partners. Sixty millions were paid by Spain, by means of a loan which the Spanish government contracted in Holland, and thanks to the co-operation which M. Mollien obtained from Messrs.

* The printed but unpublished "MEMOIRS OF M. MOLLIEN," formerly Minister of the Treasury.

Hope and Baring for the recovery of Spanish piastres in Mexico. The balance of eighty-two millions was covered in part by fourteen millions produced by the seizure of real estate belonging to the bankers; by large returns to the Treasury, which were recovered as the result of a lawsuit between the various partners, in their fight for the spoils; by what was found due to them by the army and navy departments, when their claims against these two services were gone into; by the value of the stores which were seized in their depots for the army and navy; and, finally, because they only received the third, or the half of the price of their supplies during the years 1806 and 1807, until their liabilities towards the Government were fully discharged. Thanks to these palliatives, the Emperor, continuing the company's commission to supply the army and navy departments, controlled his resentment, and did not put into execution the severe measures which he had ordered against Ouvrard and his partners.

The general secretary to the Ministry of the Public Treasury, who was guilty of having allowed himself to be bribed by the bankers, was dismissed from the service and forced to restore to the sinking fund a large sum which he was alleged to have received from them. His wife frequently came to the palace bringing petitions and letters of justification, which the Emperor always refused to receive.

M. Barbé-Marbois lost his portfolio. Everybody was surprised at the reason of his disgrace. He was considered the Cerberus of the Treasury, and showed, in the exercise of his functions, a severity which had made him enemies. A caricature represented him standing on the balcony of the Ministry building,

noting down the clerks who came late, in a little book; whilst his secretary, who was standing behind him, was drawing millions out of the Minister's pockets. There are circumstances in life when the mind slumbers, and allows itself to be led away, during this suspension of its free will, to commit unexplainable acts. The Emperor no doubt thought so; for two years later he gave his former Minister a proof of the trust he had in his honesty in appointing him first president of the Audit Office. Later on he gave him a place in the Senate. Nevertheless,—it must be because wounds inflicted on vanity are incurable—M. Barbé-Marbois, who had been recalled from exile by Napoleon, and who owed all to him, assisted in Napoleon's overthrow, in 1814, with an ardour which the Emperor might well describe as ungrateful.

M. Barbé-Marbois had succeeded to M. Bertrand-Dufresne in the general direction of the Public Treasury, which, six months later, was raised to a Ministry. M. Dufresne had been proposed by Consul Lebrun, who respected him for his honesty and his talents. He had justified the First Consul's choice by introducing a system of order and clearness into the book-keeping, which enabled one, at a glance, at any time, to see the exact state of the Public Treasury. This was an invaluable quality in Napoleon's eyes, and he showed the greatest regret at the loss of M. Dufresne. He went to see him some days before his death, and ordered a bust of him to be placed in one of the rooms of the Treasury. He had given a fresh proof of his political tolerance in occupying M. Dufresne, whose attachment to the Bourbons was well known to him. It was learned after the Restoration that,

in accepting the direction of the Treasury, M. Dufresne had had his acceptance ratified by the Comte de Lille. He had written to this prince on the subject and had received from him an answer which was printed in 1814. He was, moreover, not the only one who looked on the Comte de Lille as the lawful master of France. MM. Royer-Collard, Becquey-Beaupré, Cuvier, Boscheron-Desportes, and others, used to correspond with the brother of Louis XVI.

M. Mollien, who combined the strictest integrity with the widest experience of financial matters, and considerable wit, which is never in the way, owed his acquaintance with Napoleon to Joseph Bonaparte. He had submitted to the government a plan of organization of the sinking fund, and had been placed at the head of this department. The Emperor called him to the Ministry of the Treasury after M. Barbé-Marbois's disgrace, and replaced him at the sinking fund by Bérenger, the Councillor of State. M. Mollien rendered eminent services in his management of the Public Treasury, both by the creation of a service fund, and by other important improvements.

The blow struck by the financial crisis at public credit was promptly effaced by the vigorous action of the government. But, in investigating the various causes which had contributed to produce this crisis. the police had discovered that the royalist opposition, in duping the public by means of false alarms, had created a panic amongst the holders of public bonds, and were undermining the credit of the State.

Twelve or fifteen individuals were condemned by the police as incorrigible, and their removal from Paris was proposed. Mesdames d'Avaux, de Chevreuse, and Récamier,

and MM. de Duras, Lassalle, Montrond, and others were of the number. With the exception of Madame de Chevreuse, the order for the banishment of all was sent on from Munich to the Ministry of Police. Fouché did not omit to tell them that he was only obeying a direct order from the Emperor, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was he who had brought it about. M. de Talleyrand, who was with the Emperor, was in communication with the Duchesse de Luynes, Madame de Chevreuse's mother-in-law. He averted the blow which was about to fall on the latter, undertook to be surety for her, and advised the Emperor to appoint her lady-in-attendance in the Empress's palace; although, as a matter of fact, Madame de Chevreuse was the leader of the royalist intrigues of which the Luynes mansion was the theatre. The disgrace into which this lady afterwards fell was caused by the unceasing sarcasms and bitter railleries which she allowed herself to indulge in at Josephine's court, and which were patiently endured by the kind-hearted Empress. Napoleon, however, was deeply hurt by this inconsiderate conduct, and his patience, under this persevering and malevolent opposition, broke down one day, when Madame de Chevreuse replied to a lady-in-attendance, who had told her that she had been selected to attend Marie Louise, Queen of Spain, with the words: "I was not made to be a female warder." He was disgusted with Madame de Chevreuse for renewing her offences, after she had accepted her pardon and a place in the Empress's household at his hands. He exiled her to forty leagues from Paris, and would not allow her to return, in spite of all the applications and petitions which were made to him to grant her her pardon.

Madame de Récamier had been drawn over to the opposition by Madame de Staël, and by her own animosity against the Emperor. This was the reason of her enmity: M. Bernard, Madame de Récamier's father, being director of the post-office, had lent his name and patronage to a periodical edited by one of his friends, the Abbé Guyot, which attacked the government, the First Consul, and his family. He was arrested. His daughter in vain protested his innocence. M. Bernard having been found guilty of abuse of confidence might have been sent to trial; he was only dismissed. The Récamier firm having failed during the financial crisis of 1806, Madame de Récamier was forced to leave Paris, which she visited from time to time, spending her time partly there and partly in Coppet, from which place she brought with her the quarrelsome spirit of Madame de Staël and her coterie. She found herself in consequence involved in Madame de Staël's disgrace. Madame de Staël was flattered at being able to hold in bondage a woman celebrated for her beauty, who was the object of the admiration of all the fashionable world.

It delighted her to hear people say that the connection of two women famous the one for her graces and the other for her wit, was the alliance of genius and of beauty. During Madame de Récamier's stay at Coppet, Prince Augustus of Prussia, son of Prince Ferdinand, and nephew of the great Frederick, fell violently in love with her, and went so far, it is said, as to sign a promise of marriage with his blood. This promise was returned to him some time later, and was only accepted with reluctance, for he remained constantly attached to her. It was for her that he ordered from

the painter Gerard the fine picture of Corinna's improvisation at Cape Misene. Madame de Récamier was not banished. She had condemned herself to voluntary exile in the provinces. It was only when she began to take an active part in Madame de Staël's opposition that she was forbidden to return to Paris. After three years spent at Châlons, Lyons, and Geneva, she made a journey in Italy, and did not return to France till 1814.

As to Madame de Staël, the merited literary reputation which she enjoyed, her virile talents, her passion for fame, her irresistible mania for meddling with the affairs of the government, her quarrelsome nature, the charm of her conversation—which always sparkled with flashes of wit—had given her an influence over the political men of the period which she abused. Madame de Staël had been an ardent admirer of General Bonaparte. Although her overdone flattery had inspired him with an aversion towards her, he still received her whilst he was First Consul, but he answered her importunities with coldness. This contempt for her advances was sufficient—although it has been said that some financial interest was mixed up in it—to change Madame de Staël's devotion into an antipathy which soon revealed itself in open opposition. The interest which is naturally inspired by a weak woman, who cries out against the tyranny of an all-powerful man, gave her the popularity of persecution. But it has not been said that the Head of the State put up with her continual hostilities during three years; that during this period she had treated his warnings and notices with contempt; that this tolerance had encouraged her to stir up opposition against him on every

side, with a view to punishing him for not calling her to his council; that her drawing-room was a political club where the acts of the government were bitterly censured, and where, without any concealment, people were urged on to open revolt against the authority of the Head of the State; that this woman was a power who crossed Napoleon in the work of conciliation which he had undertaken; and lastly, that it was only after three years of long-suffering that she was finally removed from Paris. But this woman, who could not endure an existence far from the theatre on which her active mind wished to bestir itself, took recourse to the most urgent solicitation to be allowed to return to Paris. She knocked at every door, she even managed to creep up close to the beloved Paris, to which she always hoped to be able to return. I had spent several months of the summer of 1801 with her and her two children at Mortfontaine, where she was putting forth all the seductions of her wit to captivate the proprietor of this charming retreat. She took advantage of this circumstance to write me, from Blois, some twenty most eloquent letters to which, however, I was unable to answer in conformity with her wishes. I had no consolation to give this woman, who was as much to be pitied as to be blamed, victim as she was of her nature, and whose judgment, as Napoleon used to say, was not on a level with her brilliant imagination and rare faculties. Madame de Staël was forced to return to Coppet. Her resentment then knew no limits and she went to seek the echoes of her hatred amongst our enemies. She has filled a book—which in the interest of her reputation had better not have been published—with all the bitterness of her feelings,

expressing the hope that France should suffer reverses which would open her eyes to the fact that Napoleon was the author of all her troubles, and stir her up to shake off his yoke.

This book, entitled "Ten Years of Exile," was printed after her death. I have seen a copy which had belonged to Commissary-general Boisnod. After the title was written: "A work written to justify Napoleon's persecution of the authoress."

The virulence of this famous woman's temper, and her mental excitability, could not go without food. Several liaisons were made and broken off at the retreat in Coppet, to while away her leisure hours. M. Barante, a retired magistrate, who was at that time Prefect of Geneva, patronized Madame de Staël, and treated her with more tolerance than was approved of by Napoleon. In the course of this magistrate's frequent visits to the Château of Coppet his son made Madame de Staël's acquaintance, and captivated her with his remarkable intelligence. To such a degree indeed, that when the younger M. de Barante left Coppet to go to Paris to enter upon a career in which, owing to his talents, he could look for a high position, Madame de Staël was so affected by his loss that she tried to commit suicide. *

* It may be of interest to read two letters written by Napoleon concerning Madame de Staël. These letters have only been published quite recently. The first is dated from Pultusk, Dec. 31st, 1806, and is addressed to "Monsieur Fouché, Minister of the General Police, in Paris":

"Monsieur Fouché, if M. Chenier permits himself to make the slightest remark, inform him that I shall give orders for him to be sent to the St. Marguerite Islands. The time for fooling has passed by. Let him keep quiet; it is his only right. Don't allow that rascally Madame de Staël to approach Paris. I know that she is not far from it."

The second letter was addressed from Venice to Marshal Victor,

It has been thought that Napoleon was fascinated by the old nobility of the Court. The object which he had in view in drawing to the imperial court representatives of the old families was part of his system of fusion, and proceeded from the determination he had taken to render himself responsible for whatever was distinguished in France. It is certain that he always had a preference for the classes who by the length of their services, as well as by a good education, more particularly attracted his attention. He used to consider them more interested in the stability of the things he had founded than the Republicans, who were always hostile to the principles of his administration, and who dreamed of an ideal government. This is the reason why he has always been considered to have taken the inheritance, not the maxims, of the monarchies which had preceded his. That was one of the reasons of his partiality for M. de Talleyrand, who was one of his principal agents in this work of amalgamation and conciliation. Napoleon had already begun it, from the time of his accession to power, by appointing the Ducs de Choiseul-Praslin and de Luynes, Senators. He had continued it with success, and there can be no doubt that if his reign had lasted longer all trace of division amongst the classes would

who was governor of Berlin at that time. It is dated December 6th, and runs as follows:

"My cousin, I am in receipt of the letter in which you inform me that Prince Augustus of Prussia is misconducting himself in Berlin. It does not surprise me, for he is a man of no intelligence. He spent his time in making love to Madame de Staël, at Coppet, and could gain none but bad principles there. He must not be overlooked. Inform him that the very first time that he says anything, you will have him arrested and locked up in a fortress, and that you will send him Madame de Staël to comfort him. There is nothing more cringing than all these Prussian princes."—R. H. S.

have disappeared. He had recognized the fact that, especially in his relations with the governments of Europe, his ambassadors, if chosen from old families, would be better able to assume a part in the courts to which they were delegated, and that their affiliation to the freemasonry of aristocracy would be of real service to him.

At the time of the Emperor's return to Paris, Mr. Pitt closed, on January 23rd, his short, laborious career. This Minister, who had entered Parliament at the age of twenty-two, and had become Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three, died at the age of forty-seven after having, by the ascendency of his genius, exercised for many years an almost absolute empire over the destinies of England and Europe, worn-out with work and the cares of office, his constitution undermined by an inherited disease, and mortally wounded by the victory of Austerlitz which overthrew all his plans. He bequeathed to his country the legacy of war to the death against the French Revolution and its representative, as well as a national debt beyond counting. Events unconnected with any plans, and catastrophes which it was impossible to foresee, have given the victory to a policy of constant and irreconcilable hatred towards France.* Its fruits were not harvested by England until many years after Pitt's death, whose last moments

* M. de Méneval omits to mention that a "policy of constant and irreconcilable hatred" towards England guided all Napoleon's acts almost from the beginning of his political career. Just before his departure to Egypt, in inviting young Albert Permon, the brother of the future Duchess d'Abrantès, from whose "Memoirs" I quote his remarks, he exclaimed: "Ah, you think in Paris that we are at last going to attack England? The Parisians are not mistaken; it is indeed to abase this impertinent nation that we are taking up arms. England! If my voice

were troubled by the doubts—with which he descended into the grave—of the success of his plans.

This implacable adversary of Napoleon was succeeded by an illustrious rival, a partisan of peace, who was all the more disposed towards a reconciliation with France, because of his recent relations with the Head of the French Government: we mean Mr. Fox.

The same policy which had united a princess of Bavaria to Prince Eugene, determined the marriage of the hereditary prince of Baden to one of the Empress Josephine's nieces. This prince of Baden succeeded his grandfather in 1811, his father having died, in 1801, from the effects of a fall which he met with as he was returning from St. Petersburg, where he had been to visit his daughter, the wife of the Grand-duke Alexander, who afterwards became Emperor of Russia. The Prince of Baden, had, in 1806, two other sisters, married to the Kings of Sweden and Bavaria. This house, which owes its elevation to Napoleon, only possessed a simple margravate in 1803, and, in spite of this, three of its daughters had already then been placed on thrones.

The reigning Grand-duke felt sincere gratitude towards the Emperor, but his heart was animated with anti-French feelings. The union of the young heir-apparent with Napoleon's adopted daughter was disturbed, at first, by abominable intrigues. I can remember the minute details contained in M. de Thiars's letters on the insulting expressions which the young prince's mother, the Margravine, and the Margrave

has any influence, England shall never have a moment's respite from us. Yes! Yes! War to the death with England! always .... until her utter destruction". Such were Napoleon's sentiments.—R. H. S.

Louis, his brother-in-law, used in reference to Napoleon's brothers and sisters-in-law, and on the efforts which were made in this hostile camp to sow discord between the two spouses. M. de Thiars, one of the Emperor's chamberlains, who during the emigration had established certain relations in some minor German courts, had been sent to Carlsruhe, without any official character, to prepare alliances with the houses of Bavaria and Baden.

The Princess Stéphanie's virtue and the Emperor's solicitude preserved Josephine's niece from the pitfalls which had been prepared for her. The couple were reconciled by Napoleon's attentions, and the peace, once re-established, was not again disturbed. The Grand-duke, having had the misfortune to lose his son at an early age, was succeeded—at his death in 1818—by his uncle the Margrave Louis Augustus William. The most sinister rumours were set afloat on the premature death of the Grand-duke's son and a disappearance rather than a death, is still believed in in Germany. If public rumour is to be believed this child was the Jasper Hauser, whose appearance in 1826 gave rise to so many conjectures. The mystery which still envelops this new Man with the Iron Mask has given the reins to the dreamy imagination of the Germans. Jasper Hauser had been brought up in such a state of sequestration that this wretched child had never seen a human being during the earliest years of his childhood; his intelligence, deprived of all food, had not been able to develop. When he made his appearance, in 1828, in Nuremberg, he could hardly make himself understood, his language being almost unintelligible. This wretched child was suddenly kidnapped from the

hands of those* to whom he had been entrusted and, some days later, was found bathed in his blood. Having barely recovered from this attempted murder† Jasper Hauser was murdered, and the authors of this double crime were never discovered. It was supposed from the fatal issue of his cruel destiny that his persecutors, fearing the effects of public interest in the wretched youth, and the discovery of his origin, had sacrificed him for their safety. The well-known feelings of the Margrave Louis, the interest which he had in removing the obstacle which stood between him and the throne, the tendency of human imagination to assign tragic and extraordinary causes to mysterious occurrences in which lofty personages are involved, have given rise in this matter to the strangest suppositions.**

The Grand-duke Charles Louis Frederic, Princess Stéphanie Napoleon's husband, had declared, before dying, that the Counts of Hochberg, his half-brothers, the issue of a morganatic marriage contracted by his grandfather the Margrave Charles Frederick, in 1777, with the Countess of Hochberg, were eligible for the succession to the throne. The Grand-duke Charles Louis, in calling the Counts of Hochberg to the throne, had thus realized the wishes of Napoleon, who was greatly interested in them. The two elder brothers

*Jasper Hauser was being brought up by Daumer the author and Lord Stanhope.—R. H. S.

†The first attack on his life took place on October 17th, 1829, and the second and fatal one on December 14th, 1833, at Anspach. Hauser died three days later.—R. H. S.

**The falseness of the supposition that Hauser was a member of the royal house of Baden has been proved to the satisfaction of most people by Mittelstaedt. Julius Meyer, in his "*Authentische Mitteilungen*," published in 1872, describes Jasper Hauser as an impostor.—R. H. S.

had served in the French army, under his eyes, with distinction. Prince Leopold Charles Frederic became reigning Grand-duke in virtue of this decision.

The marriage of Stéphanie Beauharnais with the hereditary Prince of Baden took place on March 4th, 1806. Prince Eugene and Queen Hortense, adopted by the Emperor, had added the name of Napoleon to theirs. The same took place with Princess Stéphanie:

"PARIS, MARCH 3rd, 1806.

"It being our desire that the Princess Stéphanie Napoleon, our daughter, should enjoy all the prerogatives due to her rank—she will place herself at our side in all Court drawing-rooms, fêtes, and at table, and in the case of our absence she will place herself to the right of the Empress.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

The result of the latest victories had been the establishment of new kingdoms and grand-duchies in Germany. What Napoleon had done for foreign princes, who might one day forget what they owed to France, he considered his power sufficiently well-established to repeat in the heart of his vast empire. It was naturally in his own family that he had to look for support. Prince Joseph, his elder brother, was placed on the throne of Naples; and Prince Louis, his other brother, received the crown of Holland. Prince Murat, his brother-in-law, received the grand-duchy of Berg, composed of provinces which had been ceded by Prussia; Prince Eugene had the viceroyalty of Italy. These princes retained their dignities as Grand-Elector, Constable, Grand Admiral and Archchancellor of State. In conferring these independent sovereignties on the

members of his family, Napoleon wished to retain them at the same time in the interests of their mother-country by bonds destined to remind them at all times of their origin, and their duties towards France. The establishment of the principalities and duchies in Italy was an outcome of the same system. A new dynasty needed to be supported by an intermediate and powerful class, more particularly interested in the stability of institutions, and in the solidity and splendour of the throne; and which might give, as Napoleon expressed it, points of correspondence and support to the Great Empire. These high dignities were in no sense a danger to public liberty, and did not violate the principles of equality which had been consecrated by the French Revolution. They conferred neither rights nor particular privileges on their titularies; they were purely honorary, and were open to all citizens of every class, in proportion to their services and their capacities. They were the means of bestowing rewards which had been deserved and had been promised. They had also the advantage of stimulating a salutary emulation by holding out to all kinds of merit the prospect of these splendid proofs of public gratitude.

The Emperor bestowed the Duchy of Guastalla on his sister Princess Pauline Borghese. The province of Neufchatel was raised to a principality, and the sovereignty given to Marshal Berthier, Napoleon's oldest comrade-in-arms. The Archchancellor Cambacérès was created Prince of Parma; the Archtreasurer Lebrun, Prince of Placenza; Talleyrand, Prince de Bénévent; and Bernadotte, Prince de Ponte-Corvo.

Twelve duchies were created in Italy. These duchies conferred no authority, but each carried with it an

income of sixty thousand francs, taken from the revenues reserved to the Emperor. These were the duchies of Dalmatia, Istria, Frioul, Cadora, Belluna, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltre, Bassano, Vicence, Padua, and Rovigo.

The kingdom of Naples supplied four more, namely the duchies of Gaeta, Otranto, Tarentum, and Reggio, without counting the principalities of Bénévent and Ponte-Corvo. These two small territories, wedged into the territory of the kingdom of Naples, had been incorporated into this State to the great displeasure of the Papal Government, which alleged a claim to their possession.

Duchies situated in the kingdoms of Italy and of Naples were held in reserve, to be distributed as rewards for new services. The principal city of Lucca had to its charge the duchy of Massa, which was not filled till 1809, in the person of M. Régnier, the former Grand Judge. In the month of April, 1806, a deputation composed of high Dutch functionaries came to Paris to agree with the Emperor on the basis of a treaty by which a monarchy, based on constitutional laws, should be founded in Holland. After negotiations which lasted several months this monarchy was proclaimed on June 15th, and conferred on Louis Bonaparte, whose personal inclinations had not been consulted, and who would have preferred the government of Genoa or of Piedmont. Napoleon, however, declared to him that he had no right to refuse a throne which he (Napoleon) had erected for him in the interests of the Empire. The death of the last Stadhouder, and his heir's renunciation of his rights, smoothed over the difficulties and calmed the new king's scruples.

King Louis of Holland left, accordingly, a week later to take possession of his States, accompanied by Queen Hortense and their children. During the week which preceded their departure, he occupied himself with the Dutch deputation in acquiring a general knowledge of the affairs of their country, and had daily conferences with the Emperor. He proceeded at first to the Castle du Bois, near the Hague, and some days later made his formal entry into the capital of the Netherlands, where he received the fealty of the former masters of the country, his new subjects. Royal honours had been paid him during the whole of his journey across French territory. On his entry into Holland the people, and all classes of society, received him with great enthusiasm and manifestations of joy. The new sovereign applied himself from the moment of his arrival, with the assiduity and conscientiousness which characterized him, in providing for the principal needs of the government. He afterwards went to Wiesbaden, near Mayence, to take the waters, hoping by these means to check the progress of a disease which had been torturing him for several years past. The first steps which King Louis took in the government of his kingdom, without any thought of opposition, crossed the views which the Emperor had had in sending him to Holland. Animated by the most straightforward intentions, Napoleon's brother was only acting in obedience to the impulse of his nature, and he always had the courage of his faults. Married against his will, created a king in spite of himself, he revolted at the thought that he was the victim of the arbitrary will of his powerful brother. He wished to be independent on a throne which he thought purchased by

the sacrifice of his will and his tastes, as if he had acquired the crown by the right of birth. Jealous of his liberty of rule, encouraged in his resistance by the interested approval of our enemies, we shall soon see him taking pleasure in defying the consequences of his opposition.

The changes inaugurated in Germany by the treaty of Lunéville, and consummated by the treaty of Presburg, had disorganized the ancient German empire, whose edifice was falling into ruins. Austria and the German princes fought for the fragments; the diet was by this fact dissolved. Napoleon was asked by the Prince Elector, the Chancellor Dalberg, and by various other people, to take Germany under his protection. He decided in consequence to form a new confederation which should include the Southern German States. The Elector Archchancellor became the principal agent in these negotiations. The King of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, the Grand-dukes of Baden and of Berg, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt subscribed to this reorganization. Austria professed indifference to what was happening. Prussia, who would have been glad to take over some part of the inheritance of Austria, was more active, but was not consulted in the matter, and was excluded from all the arrangements made. At last the negotiations, which had been carried on in secret for three months, having been concluded, a treaty establishing the new confederation was signed on the 12th of July, and published some days later. The confederation was placed under the protectorate of the Emperor of the French, and took the title of the Confederation of the Rhine, a title which determined the limits of its

sphere of action. The principal negotiator was rewarded with the dignity of Prince-Primate, and with the gift of the grand-duchy of Frankfort which was created in his favour. The Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt became Grand-duke.

To the notification of the treaty, which was made to him, the Emperor of Germany replied by resigning this title and assuming that of Francis I., Emperor of Austria. Prussia was invited to form a confederation of the North which would have been composed of the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the ducal Saxonies, the two States of Mecklenburg and the secondary principalities of Germany. This overture was received with favour by the Berlin Cabinet, but soon suspicion as to the sincerity of the French Government was aroused. The Berlin Ministers gave credence to certain false allegations, which were supported by the reports of the Prussian agents, accredited to countries which were hostile to France. The adversaries of the French alliance persuaded the King of Prussia that the Emperor Napoleon was secretly offering provinces belonging to Prussia to the princes of states which were to form part of the confederation of the North, so as to draw them into the Confederation of the Rhine. The truth is that on the contrary Prussia wanted to subjugate the Kingdom of Saxony, and to dominate the Hanseatic towns by drawing them into the confederation of the North. Napoleon, for political reasons which it is easy to understand, approved of Saxony's refusal to subscribe to this scheme, and declared that the Hanseatic towns were to remain separate from any confederation. The Court of Berlin submitted and raised no further objections. It had already acknowledged

the Confederation of the Rhine, and appeared to have no other object in view than to form a confederation of the States which were the neighbours of Prussia. Thus brooded and grew the rancour of Prussia against France, in spite of Napoleon's very sincere desire to make an ally of this rival of his ambition.

Whilst occupying himself with these lofty political speculations the Emperor's attention was equally bestowed on the details of the government of the interior of his Empire. He had heard that the prisons of Brussels were crowded with people who had been arrested on the denunciation, too carelessly listened to, of old brigands, who had tried to gain their freedom by denouncing to justice alleged criminals who had escaped punishment. Napoleon wrote the following letter on this subject to Berlier, a Privy Councillor:—

"Mons. Berlier,—I hear that there are a large number of arrested persons in the prisons of Brussels, and that they are deprived of the necessaries of life. My desire is that you proceed without any delay to this city, there to confer with my imperial procuror, the president of the criminal court, and with the prefect, that you interrogate each of the prisoners in turn, and that you report to me what is the reason that such a number of persons are under arrest, and why they are not brought to trial. You know how anxious I am that criminals should be severely punished, but also that no innocent man should suffer. You will base your line of action on these principles. And hereupon I pray God to have you in His holy keeping,

"(Signed) Napoleon."

"Paris, March 17th, 1806."

The result of M. Berlier's mission was that five hundred prisoners were set at liberty, their innocence

having been proved. The Emperor ordered the Grand Judge to assure M. Berlier of his satisfaction.

Napoleon had ordered the erection of the triumphal arch on the Place du Carrousel, dedicated to the glory of the French armies during the campaign of 1805. He had the intention of having others erected. The following is a letter on the subject which he dictated on May 14th, 1806.

"Triumphal arches would be futile works, and productive of no effect whatever, and I should not have ordered them had I not thought that this was a means of encouraging architecture. I wish to stimulate sculpture in France, by means of these triumphal arches, for ten years. M. Denon will lay a plan before me. The Minister of the Interior is to erect another triumphal arch at the Etoile. A clear understanding must be come to with regard to the description of all the designs. One must be the Arch of Marengo, and the other the Arch of Austerlitz. I shall have another built in some other part of Paris which will be the Arch of Peace, and another, the Arch of Religion. By means of these four arches I expect to advance sculpture in France for twenty years. It is well, however, that M. Denon should know that there are to be four arches, so as not to put on one subjects which are better suited for another. I beg M. Daru to let me know how far the statue of Charlemagne has progressed, and to come to an understanding with M. Cretet on the subject of the two fountains which are to be erected, one on the Place de la Revolution, and the other on the site of the Bastille; they are monumental. There must be statues and bas-reliefs. These subjects may be taken, to begin with, from the Emperor's history; next from the history of the French Revolution; and next from the history of France. No opportunity for humiliating the Russians and the English must, generally, be neglected. William the Conqueror and Duguesclin might be honoured on these monuments."

It does not come within the scope of this book to enumerate the various works of improvement and embellishment carried out in Paris, and in the departments of the Empire, or the encouragements which were given to agriculture, the arts, commerce, and industry. In the midst of mighty wars the conduct and details of which absorbed the whole of his attention, Napoleon, in the few moments of leisure at his head-quarters, went over in his mind the condition of the public works, as laid down in the reports of his Ministers, or as the result of the observations he had made himself during his passage through the various old and new departments. He went over in his mind such works as had been begun, those which had been put under examination, and those which would really benefit the localities which had asked for them. When the temporary submission of his enemies gave Napoleon a short respite, he used it in making himself acquainted with the state of progress of these public works, in urging on their completion, and in awarding the necessary funds for this purpose; all this was done without the State being burdened with any debt. The Emperor often presided over commissions of men competent in these matters. At these meetings plans studied in advance were minutely discussed; adopted, if after a careful examination they had been declared satisfactory; or adjourned for ampler information. It was owing to this intelligent system of public works that Napoleon covered old and new France with monuments of all kinds, of which some were worthy of ancient Rome: roads, canals, bridges, fountains, and harbours fitted to shelter numerous fleets. It was thus that he was able to re-establish, or to create innumerable

manufactures and factories of all kinds, giving considerable development to our national industries, naturalizing in France productions for which we had formerly to go abroad; improving our breeds of horses, etc., etc., creations realized in a period of less than fifteen years, and for which many long and prosperous reigns of former days, even in the midst of complete peace, would have been insufficient.

Napoleon—satisfied with the march of events, proud of the patriotism with which the glory and the prosperity of the Empire inspired the nation—was in the full enjoyment of his high destiny and the public happiness. He accepted a fête at the Château de Grignon, which he had presented to Marshal Berthier, and spent two days there, in the course of which, laying aside all cares of politics and of government, he showed himself animated by the best of humours. He took part without any reserve in the amusements which were provided for him. Hearing at dinner that the Château de Grignon had belonged to that famous speculator Law, author of the financial system which bears his name, Napoleon was just about to say something unfavourable to this speculator, when he noticed the presence of General Lauriston, who was one of the financier's descendants. So he checked himself, and changed the conversation to avoid hurting the feelings of his aide-de-camp. In the evening, little parlour games were played, and the Emperor behaved very gallantly towards the ladies; he was one of those perhaps who took most pleasure in so-called innocent games, because they helped him to forget the gravity of his rank. The importance of political affairs left the chief of so great an Empire very little time for such amusements.

Before entering on a description of the events which were being prepared in Prussia, I will say a few words about Napoleon's private life so as to make known his method of work, his habits, and the order established in the management of the imperial household.

As a general rule I used to take the morning papers to the Emperor, whilst he was finishing dressing. I read him such articles as he pointed out to me, or which I thought likely to interest him. This reading almost always provoked some remark from him, sometimes a notice or an order to one of his Ministers.

His first doctor, Corvisart, or his surgeon-in-ordinary, Yvan, were often present at his toilet. The Emperor liked Corvisart's conversation. When he received him it was rather for the sake of a chat, than to talk about his health, which he heeded little. He loved to tease the doctor on the impotency of the medical science, and on this subject he would pour out a rolling fire of quips and sallies against the medical profession. * Corvisart defended himself under these attacks with rare presence of mind; his readiness of repartee was always quick and ingenious. Whilst admitting the uncertainties of the medical science, he defended the utility and the services which it rendered with such a strength of argument that the sarcasms were often stayed on Napoleon's lips.

Since I am speaking about doctors I may take this opportunity of speaking of Napoleon's physical constitution. This constitution was naturally robust, and the

* During the last days of his life at St. Helena, Napoleon used to say that he wanted to die of the disease not of the remedies. He added that Corvisart was the only doctor to whom he would listen. Compare Thiers' History, the chapter on St. Helena.—R. H. S.

care which he had taken from his youth to break off all bad habits had fortified it. He had all the advantages of the bilio-sanguine temperament. This kind of temperament, in spite of certain disadvantages, is considered the best. I never saw Napoleon ill; he was only occasionally subject to vomiting bile, which never left any after-effects, and which were a natural and healthy purge for him. He had feared, for some time, that he was affected with a disease of the bladder, because the keen air of the mountains caused him a kind of dysuria; but this fear was found to be without foundation. It has been noticed that men are rarely really suffering from the disease with which they imagine themselves to be afflicted. The existence of the kind of disease which killed the Emperor was not suspected at that time, and I never heard him complain of pains in the stomach. I have heard a skilful doctor maintain that affections of the kind—of which Corvisart undertook to cure the First Consul, at the beginning of the Consulate—are incurable when they are not seriously treated from the very outset. He asserted that remedies administered too late, and general care, can retard the progress of the virus, but not entirely destroy it; that its presence causes temporary perturbations in the part to which it is attached, and that sooner or later it ends by mastering it and creating mortal ravages. This doctor was persuaded that this virus was the germ of the disease to which Napoleon succumbed at St. Helena.

So susceptible were Napoleon's organs that the slightest evil smell was sufficient to upset him greatly. He had so keen a sense of smell that he could detect the vicinity of a subterranean passage, a cellar, or a sewer, a long

way off; or smells proceeding from places far away, which were not noticeable to any of the persons in his company. I have heard him say, on this topic, that he would have been very unhappy in the days when four or even six people used to sleep together in the same bed. He had been anxious to gain some acquaintance with anatomy, and for this purpose Doctor Corvisart had brought him some anatomical models in wax, representing parts of the heart and the stomach. The Emperor had set aside the hour which followed his luncheon for this study, but the illusion produced by the attention given to these parts of our animal organization filled him with such disgust that it used to make him sick. He tried in vain to resist this revolt of his senses, but he was forced to give up his lessons. Nevertheless the same man, riding over a field of battle after a bloody fight, was not disgusted by the contact of wounds of disgusting appearance and odour. He often used to get off his horse, and place his hand on the chest of the wounded man to see whether he still breathed; he would raise him up, with the help of his officers, and put to his lips a bottle of brandy, which his servant Roustan always carried with him.

One would be tempted to believe, if such a supposition could be admitted, that his body participated to some extent in his marvellous intellectual organization. When his coffin was opened at St. Helena, twenty years after it was closed down, Napoleon appeared to be sleeping. His teeth had preserved their whiteness, his beard and nails seemed to have grown since his death. His hands had the colour of life, they were supple and resisted pressure. It is not impossible that some centuries hence some biographer

of this great man should apply to his body the property which Plutarch attributed to that of Alexander the Great. The soul alone is immortal, and reason rejects the belief in such phenomena; but sentiment may admit them. It is a touching superstition which attributes privileges to the mortal remains of men of genius; for it is only another tribute paid to their memory.

Napoleon was careful in the matter of personal cleanliness. He took frequent baths. He used to brush his arms and his broad chest himself and loved to joke about the fatness of his breasts. His valet finished by rubbing him very vigorously on the back and shoulders; but he often used to make Roustan, who was much stronger, do this for him. He formerly used to be shaved, but for a long time that is to say, since about 1803, he had shaved himself—after he had changed his valet. A small mirror was held before him, and turned as required, in the process of shaving. He then used to wash himself with a great quantity of water in a silver basin which from its size might have been taken for a vat. A sponge dipped in eau de cologne was passed over his hair, and the rest of the bottle was poured over his shoulders. His flannel singlets, his vests and pants of kerseymere were changed every day. He never gave up wearing his green or blue uniform coats—the only coats he ever wore—until he was told that they were beginning to show signs of wear. His allowance for dress had at first been fixed at sixty thousand francs; he had reduced this amount to twenty thousand francs, all included. He was fond of saying that with an income of twelve hundred francs, and a horse, he should have all he wanted. He often referred to the times

when he was an artillery lieutenant, and delighted in speaking of the order he put in his expenditure, and the economies which he attempted to avoid getting into debt, especially when the triumph of the English party in Corsica had cut off all supplies from home, and he had charge of his brother Louis, whom he was bringing up and maintaining on his pay. At such times he would censure the example of luxury which his aides-de-camp, and the principal officers of his household, gave to the officers of lower rank, who were attached to his person. Nevertheless he liked to be surrounded with splendour and a kind of pomp. He often used to say to those on whom he lavished his money: "Be economical and even parsimonious at home; be magnificent in public." He followed this maxim himself. Nobody was more modest in his dress, or less particular about his food, and all that concerned him personally. He told me one day that when he was quite a young officer, he had sometimes travelled from Paris to Versailles in what used to be called the Court carriages, which were a kind of cheap coach; very comfortable, he used to add, and where he met very nice people. Only it was not a very expeditious way of travelling, for these carriages took five hours to do the journey.

Although the interior and exterior affairs of the Empire had taken a great development since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, the Emperor's usual way of living had changed very little. He had fixed hours neither for his work, nor his meals, nor for sleep. He used to come to his work-room at seven in the morning, dressed for the whole day in his invariable costume, vest and pants of white kerseymere, the green coat of the *chasseurs de la garde* during the days of

the week, and the blue coat with white lappets on Sundays and reception days. He wore a colonel's epaulettes, the decorations of the Legion of Honour and of the Crown of Iron in his button-hole; the plate of the Legion of Honour and the grand cordon under his coat; and he was always dressed in white silk stockings. When he had to ride out, to save time, he did not change his stockings, and contented himself with changing his shoes with oval gold buckles for riding-boots lined with silk.

The levee took place at nine in the morning. The officers were expected to be present to receive their orders, officers not in attendance had permission to be present. After the levee certain persons who by reason of their rank or of their employments were in immediate contact with the Emperor, took advantage of the hour of the levee to pay him their respects, or to obtain a few words with him.

Napoleon used to lunch alone in a little drawing-room which was close to his work-room. During this repast—which rarely lasted more than ten minutes, but which he prolonged when he had leisure—he used to receive some savants, men of letters and artists with whom he liked to talk. After luncheon he returned to his work-room, attended to some business, and then went to work with one of his ministers, or with some official for whom he had sent, or presided over the Council of State. There were days when the work in his cabinet took up the whole of his time. The Council of Ministers, at which the Archchancellor and Chief Treasurer were present, took place every Wednesday at noon, and lasted till the dinner-hour. This meal was served at six o'clock, but when the

Emperor was busy he let the hour go by. He used to dine alone with the Empress, except on Wednesdays —when the Ministers were invited, and Sundays—which were devoted to a family feast. Napoleon preferred the simplest dishes. He drank nothing but Chambertin mixed with water, hardly ever without water, and never touched liqueurs. A cup of coffee was served to him in the drawing-room, and he used also to take one at luncheon, but never more. He would remain about an hour in the drawing-room, at the end of which the Empress used to go down to her apartment. It was usually after this meal, and once a week, that M. Barbier, his librarian, used to present him with the new books, or books sent by authors in token of homage. The Emperor glanced over them all, throwing down on the ground or pitching into the fire those which did not interest him, or which displeased him, and putting one or two—rarely three—aside to read with greater attention.

When Napoleon left for the army, or to undertake a lengthy journey, he had the latest publications sent on to him with an analysis of each book. It was also his custom to carry with him a travelling library composed of boxes in compartments, in which were stored the best works of history, literature, and science, printed in very small editions. Not possessing certain works in this library, which he desired to have, and which did not exist in 12mo, or 18mo editions, he had the intention of creating a portable library, which he drafted out for the first time at Marrac in 1808, and again at Schönbrunn in 1809. The necessity of having these works translated, the delay and cost of carrying this plan out, prevented its accomplishment. Napoleon's

ideas on this matter, and his opinions on various works, are contained in memoranda which were handed by his order to M. Barbier. Several of these documents have been or will be published one day by M. Louis Barbier, the son of the Emperor's librarian.

Sometimes the Emperor, returning to his work-room, would work there till bedtime; sometimes he would spend the rest of the evening with the Empress in the drawing-room, where the *entrées* were received. This favour was accorded *de jure* to the great dignitaries, to their wives, and to persons who had been presented, inscribed on a special list, whose presence might be useful and agreeable to the sovereign. The couchee took place at ten o'clock, and orders for the morrow were given there. After the couchee he rarely returned to his work-room; more often he withdrew to his little apartment to go to bed.

The Emperor shot and hunted almost every week, less from inclination than for the sake of exercise. These hunts, when he was in Paris, took place at St. Cloud, or at Trianon, or in the Bois de Boulogne, or in the forest of St. Germain, or in the wood of Versailles. His winter residence was the Tuileries palace; later on he used to live at the Elysée, and enjoyed greater liberty there. He spent part of the year at St. Cloud, a place of which he was fond, and used to come to the Tuileries to hear mass, and to receive the diplomatic corps. He gave great hunting parties at Rambouillet, where he used to reside a fortnight or three weeks; at Compiègne, where he spent as much time; and at Fontainebleau, where he held a large and brilliant court. The stay of the Court in this last residence was prolonged six weeks, or for two months, in September or October.

Napoleon only went to the theatre in Paris on very rare occasions. The actors of the principal theatres used to come and perform, in the court theatre, tragedies and Italian operas—rarely French operas.

The government of the imperial household was regulated with the same order as that of the Empire. It was divided into as many departments as there were officers of the Crown; the budget of expenditure was fixed each year. The Emperor presided over the household council annually, and sometimes oftener, and would go into the various details of expenditure, often finding it possible to obtain income from sources which had passed unnoticed, or which had been neglected. He used to praise the heads of departments who had economized on their allowances, not because he preached parsimony, but because he could tolerate neither wastefulness nor carelessness. In this respect he was well seconded by General Duroc, who, as grand-marshal of the palace, was charged with the most difficult department—the department in which the expenses were minute, variable, and liable to give rise to abuses; the officers of the other departments imitated his example. These various departments were administered by overseers, who attended to their duties with scrupulous regularity.

The revenues of the imperial civil list, composed of twenty-five millions paid annually by the Public Treasury, and the revenues from the Crown domains, amounted to thirty or thirty-one millions of francs. The heaviest expenses were in connection with the crown buildings and furniture, with the departments of the Grand Equerry, the Grand Marshal, and Grand Chamberlain, and the military household. The build-

ings absorbed three millions a year, and the furniture cost one million eight hundred francs annually. The Grand Equerry's department cost four millions in an ordinary year; the Grand Marshal's three millions; and the Grand Chamberlain's about as much. The military household cost eight hundred thousand francs. In the Grand Chamberlain's budget the salaries of the ladies in attendance, the chamberlains, the expenses of offices, libraries, maps, ushers, and servants' wages amounted to close upon twelve hundred thousand francs; the chapel music, the music in the apartments, and at the theatrical performances cost close upon nine hundred thousand francs. The Emperor's toilet cost twenty thousand francs, and the Empress's expenses for toilet, wardrobe, and privy purse amounted to six hundred thousand francs. The annual savings made out of the revenues of the civil list amounted to thirteen or fourteen millions. Thus, thanks to the spirit of order and the good management which obtained in the expenses of his house, the Emperor was able to hold a court fully as magnificent as any other, and to amass a treasure of more than one hundred millions—a part of which, in gold and silver money, was locked up with three keys in the cellars of the Tuileries.

The severe and minute attention which Napoleon paid to matters of expense caused him to be accused of avarice, at least he pretended to think so. One day, when the Prince de Bénévent was present: "Talleyrand," he said, "people say that I am stingy . . ." The minister replied with commonplaces, saying that Napoleon was the great conservator, and so on. The Emperor, continuing, said, in a meaning way: "You are rich, Talleyrand, when I am in want of money,

it is to you that I shall apply. Frankly now, how much have you made out of me?" Prince de Bénévent, not in the least disconcerted, answered that he was far from being rich, that what he possessed he owed to the Emperor, and that accordingly he had nothing which was not entirely at his disposal. This little scene appeared to me to have been provoked by a feeling of distrust of Talleyrand. It took place after the return from Erfurth. The ex-minister sometimes used to pretend to be in embarrassed circumstances. Perhaps this state of embarrassment was not really a sham. Possibly M. de Talleyrand frequently lost his money in the speculations in which he engaged. There were times when he sold his library, his pictures, and other valuables, buying them back again when fortune favoured him.

I used to take an hour's horse exercise every day, as much for amusement as for the sake of exercise. I felt more than ever the need of some assistance, and I asked the Emperor to give me a companion. The idea then came to him to create two posts of Secretary to the Cabinet, and he appointed General Clarke—who, now that the death of the King of Etruria had closed his mission to this prince, was without employment—to one of these places. The Emperor appearing to neglect him, Clarke followed him step by step during his journey in Alsatia, placing himself before him each time that he had the opportunity of recalling himself to his memory. On his return from this short journey, the Emperor told me that, not wishing to interrupt the unity of the work of his private work-room, he had made up his mind to

charge the general with the title of Secretary to the Cabinet, with a special class of work, viz., his correspondence with the Ministries of War and Marine; and that this would be a notable reduction of my day's work. General Clarke was accordingly established in a private office. But the necessity of sending for him to write to his ministers often kept the Emperor back from making use of his services; in one word, the post degenerated into a sinecure. The second post of Secretary to the Cabinet was also vacant when the 1805 campaign took place. General Clarke, who followed the Emperor in this campaign with me, was appointed governor of Vienna. He was entrusted with several missions abroad after this campaign, and his post of Secretary to the Cabinet remained as unoccupied as the second post.

The assistance which it had been the Emperor's intention to give me was accordingly only an illusory one. Another year passed without any change being made in the work in the cabinet. I repeated my application to Napoleon to obtain an assistant. What I needed above all was to be relieved of the care of the papers which had to be classified after having been answered. The multiplicity of my occupations prevented me from keeping these papers in sufficiently good order to be able to find any draft of a letter or a despatch which the Emperor might want to see at a moment's notice. Napoleon avoided satisfying my request for some time longer, either by making promises which he did not keep, or on various pretexts. He used to urge me to get married, assuring me that he would arrange my work in such a manner that I should get some rest. Various matches were proposed

to me by him and the Empress Josephine, including a lady who was one of her relations, and whom she obliged me to call upon at her house. But at that time I did not feel any vocation for marriage. Besides, I was determined that if I ever did make up my mind to get married I would choose my own wife. As a matter of fact, more than two years passed before I contracted the irrevocable bonds, the solemnity of which so impressed me. Seeing that the Emperor put off keeping his promise every day, I became discouraged and fell ill, as much from worry as from overwork. On hearing this news the Emperor showed his solicitude and sent me Doctor Corvisart, who was charged with a kind message. Pending my recovery he sent for the Empress's private secretary. M. Deschamps was one of our most agreeable vaudeville writers; he was still capable of more serious work, and lively and brisk, though past middle life. Napoleon despaired from the very first of being able to accustom him to his way of working, and especially to writing from his dictation. He employed General Duroc, the aide-de-camp on service, and the Secretary of State in turn. During my short illness I was to some extent in the position of the man who while yet alive reads an obituary notice of himself, written by some friendly pen at the news of his death. I heard that when the person to whom the Emperor was dictating did not take down his words sufficiently quickly the Emperor would cry out: "I cannot repeat. You make me lose the thread of my thought. Where is Méneval?" Pointing to the disorder on his writing-table he would cry out: "If I had Méneval here, I should soon have cleared all that away." He also used to say that he

was postponing all work of importance until after my recovery. As a matter of fact my entire merit consisted in the acquaintance I had with the connection and direction of Napoleon's affairs, in the way that thanks to this knowledge I was able to foresee their development and issue, and in my familiarity with the connection of his ideas, with the precision of his style, and with the originality of his expressions. I did not know any kind of shorthand, and so would have been unable to take down the Emperor's words literally; but I used to note down the principal points which served as memoranda and also the characteristic expressions. I used to rewrite the letters in almost the same terms as he had used, and when he read it over before signing it, which only happened when it was a delicate matter, or one which pre-occupied him, he used to find his own style in my writing—if I may use that expression. Those who have followed the details of the work done in the imperial cabinet for sufficient time, or who made themselves acquainted with Napoleon's method of work, have been in a position to verify the truth of what I have related.

I confess that my vanity was flattered by the reports which I heard, and the idea that the Emperor attached importance to my assistance and my work soon restored me to strength and courage. When I reappeared in his cabinet after four days, I may say without boasting that I was received with pleasure. I found Napoleon kinder to me than ever. He authorized me to mention somebody to him as assistant, adding that he left this choice entirely to my personal responsibility. M. Maret—the Duc de Bassano—who used to accompany the Emperor on his

journeys as Secretary of State, was succeeded by one of his heads of departments with whom I was in relations by reason of my service. I knew him as a man trained to business by the knowledge which his duties at the State-secretaryship had given him of the various acts of the government. I further knew him to be a very industrious man and honest to a degree. Before approaching him on this subject I wished to have the opinion of M. Maret, who strongly encouraged me in the idea which I had had of suggesting the name of M. Fain to the Emperor, offering himself as bondsman. I accordingly asked the minister to back up my suggestion in favour of his subordinate. M. Fain was accepted. As far as I was concerned, I was delighted with this arrangement and as to M. Fain, I never saw a happier man. He embraced me with tears of joy and gratitude. The Emperor promulgated a decree under date of February 3rd, 1806, on the new organization of his cabinet. By the terms of this decree the service of the imperial cabinet was entrusted to a Secretary of the Portfolio, assisted by a reporter on petitions and a keeper of archives. I was appointed Secretary of the Portfolio, and I alone had to present for signature all the notes or letters which the Emperor had dictated. I alone had the right to enter into the Sovereign's cabinet. I was entrusted with the keeping of the keys of the Emperor's writing-table and portfolios. If in my absence the Emperor dictated any note or letter, or had any piece of work done, a copy, or at least a draft, of this work had to be handed to me immediately on my return. The reporter on petitions was M. Deschamps, already secretary to the Empress Josephine, and M. Fain was the keeper of archives. He became later titular secretary to the Em-

peror. Napoleon had wished to do something pleasant for the Empress Josephine and to improve the position of her secretary. The kindheartedness of this princess, and her goodwill towards her people, are well-known. The Emperor, who always loved her tenderly, never refused her anything that he thought it possible to grant.

During the first years the papers connected with affairs which the Emperor thought it advisable to withhold from sending to the archives were put into a small mahogany box, which was placed in the cabinet. The key of this box remained in the hands of the Secretary to the Portfolio. This precaution was only observed for two or three years, at the end of which all papers, with very few exceptions, were immediately sent off to the archives.

The same decree instituted two guardians of the portfolio who were in attendance a fortnight in turn. They had to wear a uniform and a sword, with a shoulder-belt of a peculiar design.

I had to wait some time still for the assistance which the Emperor had intended to grant me in appointing M. Fain. The force of habit, Napoleon's dislike to increase the number of people who shared his confidence, his habit of acting on experience, fortified by a prudence which was increased by the importance and the gravity of the constant struggle in which he was engaged, prevented him at first from entrusting M. Fain's talents and zeal with the employment on which we had counted. It was only gradually, and when the work became too heavy, that he used to call M. Fain into his work-room to dictate to him, after which the secretary used to return to his office of the archives to write out his fair copy. The Emperor

accustomed himself to him gradually. He first of all employed him for dictations on questions of administration, until the time when the breaking-down of my health gave him freer access to the cabinet, which after my retirement was organized on a larger basis.

The introduction of M. Deschamps into the cabinet—reorganized by the decree of February, 1806—led us to make the acquaintance of a number of his colleagues of the Vaudeville: MM. Barré, Radet, Desfontaines, Després, Picard and de Vigny, an actor of the Odeon, all people of approved wit and talents. These gentlemen frequently came to luncheon with us.

MM. Barré, Radet and Desfontaines were the first to think of the collaboration of several authors in the writing of a theatrical piece in which a unity of plan, idea, and action should be preserved. M. Deschamps obtained for this inseparable trio—who together had founded the Vaudeville, a theatre on which the glory of France was frequently celebrated in patriotic plays—a pension of four thousand francs apiece from the funds reserved for the press fund. I am not aware whether the authors continued to enjoy this favour under the government of the Restoration.

In the burst of his gratitude one of the new pensioners cried out:

"O Vaudeville, heureux d'avoir dans tes domaines,
Des champs!"

To which Deschamps, in his modesty, suggested that he should add:

"Des prés et des fontaines!"*

*A punning and, consequently, an untranslatable allusion to three of the parties concerned—MM. Deschamps, Després and Desfontaines. —R. H. S.

This anecdote reminds me that a man of letters who had been received at La Malmaison, and who had had one of his tragedies played on the Court stage, obtained a pension of six thousand francs from the Emperor. At the time of the Restoration this braggart of a poet said, speaking of Napoleon: "The devil of a fellow! As soon as he saw somebody in a crowd whose head topped those of the others—bang! he disgraced him with a pension."

Now it happened that the minister who at that time disposed of pensions and pardons, reduced the pension of our man of letters to three thousand francs. In consequence of this his friends made haste to congratulate him on the fact that the Restoration had effaced half of his stain.

The interest which the Emperor took in the prosperity of commerce and industry induced him to visit an establishment which at that time was at its highest prosperity. This was the calico-factory which M. Oberkampf had established at Jouy in the Biévre valley. Napoleon went there one day in the summer of 1806, accompanied by Josephine, and followed by a part of the court. He invested this visit with a certain amount of importance. He went through the various work-rooms, and examined the various processes of manufacture with attention, desired to be informed of all its details, and even went into the meadow where the calicoes were spread out. The Emperor expressed his satisfaction to the modest author of this fine establishment. Then, looking at him with greater attention, he showed his surprise at the fact that M. Oberkampf had not yet been decorated with the Legion of Honour. Then unfastening the cross which he wore in his button-hole,

Napoleon handed it to the manufacturer, saying: "Here is my cross. I am pleased with what I have seen. I like to reward services of all kinds to the motherland. Peaceful war made against the enemy in your workshop is no less efficacious than the war waged on battle-fields."

During the month of March, 1806, orders had been given to the Ministers of War and of the War Administration to assign the places to be occupied in France by the corps of the *Grande Armée*. The garrisons which they were to hold were in the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 18th, 24th, 25th and 26th military divisions. The news that the Austrians had handed over to the Russians the mouths of the Cattaro, which by the terms of the Treaty of Presburg they had promised to surrender to France, suspended the surrender of the fort of Braunau to the Austrian troops, and the movement of the French army back to the Rhine. This incident, which lasted some time, having been terminated, the Emperor confirmed his previous orders for the return home of our army. On the 22nd of June he sent an order to the Minister of War, fixing the positions which the various corps were to occupy, modifying the first arrangement, although very few of the military divisions which had been named were altered. The major-general, who had remained in Germany, was commissioned with the execution of these orders. The refusal of a ratification of the treaty concluded in Paris with the Russian plenipotentiary d'Oubril; the rupture of the negotiations begun in Paris with England; and finally the armaments of Prussia caused all these orders for the return of the troops to be countermanded.

The long stay of the French troops in Germany necessarily formed the pretext for accusations of all kinds against the head of the French Government. Libellous pamphlets, which so greatly contributed towards the perversion of public opinion and towards exasperating Europe against France, began to spread, and provoked the peoples of Germany to revolt. Booksellers in the principal towns occupied by the French troops printed, published, and hawked these libellous calumnies against us. One of them, Palm, a bookseller at Nuremberg, was arrested, tried by court-martial, and shot.* The inflexibility of martial law and the safety of the army rendered this act of rigour imperative. Nevertheless the effect produced in Germany was terrible, and this occurrence brought down on the Emperor fresh accusations and a fresh explosion of public indignation. Palm was honoured as the martyr of the German national spirit. The major-general had respited certain other prisoners who had been sentenced to death for the same crime. He asked the Emperor to pardon them and Napoleon wrote at the bottom of his letter:

"SAINT-CLOUD, SEPTEMBER 4th, 1806.—I leave Marshal Berthier free to act as he chooses. I find that the pardons which he asks for may very well be granted."

The exasperation, however, which reigned in Berlin, and the hostile preparations ordered by Prussia, increased the anti-French agitation. Prussia, who had

*The pamphlet for publishing which Johann P. Palm was shot on August 26th, 1806, was entitled "Germany in her lowest abasement" (*Deutschland in seiner tiefsten Erniedrigung.*) It was republished in 1877. Palm was born in Schorndorf in 1766. A memorial statue was raised to him in 1866, in Braunau, where it still stands. His biography was published in 1842.—R. H. S.

learned no lesson from the defeat of Austria and of Russia, nor from the want of success of her bellicose intentions in 1805, entered the arena in her turn. This power, whose constant irresolutions worried Napoleon during five years, tempted by the French alliance, without definite political system of any kind, but secretly inclining towards the coalition, finished by throwing in her lot against France.

The treaty of an offensive and defensive alliance which had been signed at Vienna, by Count d'Haugwitz, after the victory of Austerlitz, ceded Hanover with other important possessions to Prussia in exchange for the margraviate of Anspach, the principality of Neufchatel, and the duchy of Cleves. Napoleon disposed of the margraviate of Anspach in favour of Bavaria. It will be remembered that the marching through this territory by Bernadotte's army had furnished Prussia with a pretext to manifest her animosity towards France. The principality of Neufchatel was given to Marshal Berthier; the duchy of Cleves was intended to form part of the grand-duchy of Berg to the sovereignty of which Murat was appointed. The balance of these exchanges was immensely in favour of Prussia, whom the Emperor, despite his well-founded grievances, wished to bind to him in a close alliance. Count d'Haugwitz, on his return to Berlin, found the Anglo-Russian spirit predominant in the King's councils, and the King himself engaged to the coalition. The negotiator of the treaty of Vienna was accordingly blamed, and the King refused his ratification, pure and simple, demanding that the alliance with the French Empire should be neither offensive nor defensive, and consenting only to occupy Hanover tempo-

rarily, until the conclusion of peace between England and France; an event which alone in his eyes could justify Prussia's acquisition of this Electorate. Eminently pacific, this monarch wished to combine an apparent friendship for France with the maintenance of close relations with her enemies, a line of conduct which could not possibly satisfy anybody, and which could not fail to make Napoleon lose all confidence in the good faith of Prussia. The Emperor having been apprised of the hostility towards France which reigned in Prussia, sentiments which the King was powerless to restrain, refused to consider the Prussian Ministry as other than a hidden foe. This government, not daring to break off with ours, although it had torn up the treaty of Vienna, which was so favourable to Prussia, had to accept another treaty the clauses of which were very much less in her favour. By the terms of the new stipulations Prussia was forced to accept the fee simple of Hanover* (which for fear of offending England she had refused); and to close her harbours against the English ships—a clause which involved Prussia in the loss of four hundred vessels, seized upon by England. The exasperation of France increased after the conclusion of this new treaty, but was not yet sufficiently strong to break out. The establishment of the confederation of the Rhine, from which Napoleon looked for the support in Germany which he did not find in Prussia brought these hostile feelings, which did not dare to manifest themselves

* "Napoleon had formed the secret design of seizing Hanover again" (after and in spite of its cession to Prussia) "to obtain from England a peace which he could no longer hope to impose on her by means of an alliance with Prussia."

THIERS, *Histoire de l'Empire*, Book VI.—R. H. S.

openly, to the highest degree of irritation. As a matter of fact the Prussian Government held France responsible for the loss of the advantages of which it had deprived itself by its continual tergiversations.

Whilst France and Prussia were in this equivocal situation the death of Mr. Pitt made way in the British Ministry for Mr. Fox. The new minister took advantage of a peculiar occurrence to approach the French Government, and to address pacific overtures to France. An exile had proposed the murder of Napoleon to Mr. Fox. Mr. Fox, indignant at such a proposal, had brought it to the Emperor's knowledge. A correspondence ensued.* Lord Yarmouth, who happened to be in France, where he was detained with the rest of the English travellers who were arrested on French territory at the time of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and whose release was obtained by Mr. Fox, acted as intermediary between the two governments. The English Cabinet having expressed the wish to negotiate in agreement with Russia, this proposal was evaded, and it was agreed upon that a Russian agent should be sent direct to Paris. This agent, M. d'Oubril, concluded a separate agreement with France. The negotiation with England was

* Between Fox and Talleyrand. In Talleyrand's answer to Fox's first letter he states that having communicated its contents to Napoleon, the Emperor exclaimed: "I recognise there the principles of honour and virtue, which have always animated Mr. Fox. Thank him in my name and tell him that, whether the politics of his sovereign cause us to remain for yet a long time at war, or whether this quarrel, so useless to humanity, is destined to come to an end as speedily, as must be desired by the two nations, I am pleased with the new character which, owing to this communication, has been assumed by the war, and which is a token of what may be expected from a Cabinet whose principles I judge according to those of Mr. Fox, who is the best man to feel in all things what is beautiful, what is really great."—R. H. S.

taking a favourable turn; it had been stipulated that she should retain possession of Malta and of the Cape of Good Hope, and should surrender all the other colonies. One of the principal difficulties, the maintenance of King Ferdinand of Sicily, would have been smoothed over, although the union of Malta and Sicily in the hands, or under the influence, of England had grave disadvantages, because the negotiations were inspired with good faith on both sides. In the course of these negotiations the French Government had even undertaken, apart from the relinquishing Malta, to consent to restore Hanover to England, without consulting Prussia, this power having shown that she attached but little value to this possession. An equivalent, and even larger indemnity of a kind likely to be agreeable to Prussia, had been stipulated for, it being proposed to give Prussia Fulda, Hoya, and some other principalities in exchange. Napoleon had undertaken to secure Prussia's consent to these arrangements. Peace was just going to be signed when Fox fell dangerously ill, and died a short time after. Lord Yarmouth was at once replaced by Lord Lauderdale, who was sent by the war party in London—who had conceived the hope of forming another coalition against us—with the mission to break off negotiations. Lord Lauderdale, in consequence, imperiously demanded, in place of the terms agreed upon with Lord Yarmouth, that each country should retain its respective possessions, with the exception of Hanover, which was occupied by Prussia, a proposal which amounted to this, that England would have kept all her conquests, and that neither Prussia nor France would have obtained any compensation from the British Ministry, since the only

English possession on the continent which these powers had in their hands was Hanover. It was evident that peace was not desired in London, that all that was wanted was to obtain a declaration from France that Hanover should be restored to England, a declaration which would have rendered all reconciliation with Prussia out of the question. At the same time the Emperor of Russia refused to ratify the treaty concluded in Paris by M. d'Oubril. Lord Lauderdale demanded the return of his letters of credence.

Prussia, led astray by lying reports and perfidious manœuvres, such as are lavished by the English Government, was daily assuming a more menacing attitude. The young Court of Berlin, the Queen and Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia breathed fire into the councils of the King, and set every head in Germany aglow. The beautiful Queen of Prussia, dressed in the uniform of the regiment which bore her name, used often to parade on horseback at its head, stimulating the enthusiasm of the troops. Prince Louis of Prussia, young, ardent but unexperienced, was the leader of a large number of young officers, who intoxicated with the remembrance of the great Frederick, and burning to measure themselves with the French, clamoured aloud for war. They used to go and sharpen their swords on the steps of the French embassy, and broke the windows of the Prussian ministers whom they thought favourably disposed towards our country. Berlin was in a real state of delirium. The King was persuaded that in declaring war with France he would be carrying out the unanimous wishes of the nation. In the first days of the month of September, the Emperor, rendered anxious

by Prussia's arming, and the order given to the Prussian royal guards to leave Berlin and to proceed to the frontier, desired M. de Knobelsdorf, the Prussian envoy to Paris, to furnish him with explanations on these matters. M. de Knobelsdorf, faithful to the system which had been adopted by the coalition, denied the arming, and stated that this piece of news was only the result of the action of the enemies of France and Prussia, who were jealous of the cordial understanding which existed between the two countries. Napoleon might have been lulled by so positive a denial, which of course had no other object in view. But on the first of the following October a note from M. de Knobelsdorf destroyed all illusions he may have entertained. This note contained three injunctions, the first and most important of which was formulated as follows: "The King expects that the French troops, whose presence in Germany is totally unjustifiable, shall immediately and without any exception, recross the Rhine, beginning their march back on the day on which the King expects the Emperor's reply, and continuing it without interruption, etc., etc." The Prussian ambassador added that he had to insist with earnestness—such were his literal words—on a prompt reply, so that in any case it might reach the King's head-quarters on the 8th of October. An ultimatum formulated in such arrogant terms was nothing less than a declaration of war. Napoleon, forced to take up the gauntlet, was anxious not to annihilate Prussia. He earnestly wished for peace, and peace would have been secured, and Prussia would have been saved, if Fox had lived.

The Prussian Ministry was so anxious to commence hostilities that without awaiting the arrival of the

Russian troops it suddenly opened the campaign. The Prussian armies were in front of the French cantonments provoking our soldiers with insults of every kind, before our army corps had received any orders to march.

The Emperor left St. Cloud for Mayence on September 25th. He had sent his guard on in front. It had left Paris some days previously, driving in relays of carriages. The major-general had been ordered a fortnight previously to procure horses, and to ask the King of Bavaria for some, Napoleon fearing that his own, which had only been sent off on September the 11th, might not arrive in time. Napoleon entered Germany on October 1st, and went to lunch with the Prince-Primate at Aschaffenburg. He spent two days at Wurtzburg in the palace of the Grand-duke Ferdinand. The King of Wurtemburg paid the Emperor a visit there to confer with him, and to make certain statements which were of common interest. During his stay in Wurtzburg, Napoleon gave the necessary orders for establishing a great depot in this city. He repeated the orders he had already given and made fresh commands. Volumes would not suffice to describe the multitude of military and administrative measures which in his foresight he provided for every section of his army, and the precautions which he took against even the most improbable hazards of war. Suffice it to say that not even the minutest detail was overlooked.

Important successes were achieved in the first engagements, notably at the combat of Saalfeld, where the young Prince Louis of Prussia was the first victim of the war which he had helped to kindle. The

Emperor ordered the major-general to write in his name to the King of Prussia "to express the sympathy which he felt for the sorrow which the news of the premature but glorious death of Prince Louis must have caused him." The rapidity of the march of our soldiers brought the Emperor to Jena on October the 13th. These dates should be remembered. He mounted on horseback forthwith, wishing to make use of the rest of the day to examine the locality, and, having concluded this investigation, he made arrangements for a battle which could be fought on the morrow. Part of the night was spent in widening a steep defile by which to convey pieces of artillery on to one of the heights which commanded the town of Jena and which he had chosen as his point of attack. The Emperor was present in person at this operation, and sometimes in his impatience would snatch up a torch to light the engineers.

Napoleon was on horseback giving his last orders before the break of day. Victory crowned his efforts, and before the end of the day the Prussian army was completely routed. It was only in the night and on the following days, that the immense results of this memorable encounter became known. When the Emperor re-entered Jena in the evening, after having visited the field of battle with his accustomed solicitude—a pious duty in the fulfilment of which nothing was allowed to stand in his way—the whole extent of this great victory was not yet known. But in the night General Romeuf, Marshal Davout's aide-de-camp, arrived with the news of the victory won the same day, a few leagues off, by the Marshal, a victory which completed that of Jena, and which won

for this intrepid warrior the warmest congratulations of the Emperor, and the title of Duke of Auerstadt. Abandoned by Bernadotte, who, yielding to a deplorable feeling of rivalry, not only refused his urgent appeals for assistance, but left the battle-field on some pretext, Davout remained alone with the three divisions of his army corps, in presence of the second Prussian army, which exceeded the number of his soldiers by more than half. The King of Prussia and the two first generals of the great Prussian army, the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief, and Field-marshal Mollendorf, one of the comrades-in-arms of the great Frederick, were at the head of this army. Marshal Davout, in spite of his numerical inferiority, did not hesitate to oppose the enemy's passing. The Marshal's tenacity, backed by the coolness and intrepidity of the Gudin, Friant, and Morand divisions, won him a complete victory. These splendid successes, achieved before the arrival of the Russian troops, had destroyed the Prussian military forces and thrown open the gates of Berlin to the French army.

The Emperor, master of all the enemy's communications, and assured of victory, had written from Gera to the King of Prussia to declare that in spite of all his advantages, he was disposed to restore peace to the nations; that he had given the Prussian monarch no real cause for war; and that he asked him to remove from his councils the crackpates who, fourteen years previously, had wanted to take Paris, and who had provoked the present war. M. de Montesquiou, Napoleon's officer of ordonnance and chamberlain, who had been commissioned to carry this letter, was detained at the enemy's outposts. The Emperor's letter was sent on

to the King, who according to what he said, did not receive it till the following day when the fighting had already begun. But even if the King had received it on the previous evening its perusal would have done no good, so great was the excitement of our adversaries.

The remnants of the Prussian army, which had showed itself inferior to its great reputation, dispersed, and, flying in every direction, fell one after the other under the ardent pursuit of the French army. One month after entering the field the enemy's army no longer existed.

On the morrow of the battle of Jena, the Emperor called together the officers of the Saxon troops which had been taken prisoners, and, through my old comrade Moustier, who acted as interpreter, informed them that he would send them back home, if they would promise not to serve against France again. The Saxon prisoners numbered six thousand men and three hundred officers. This act of generosity won for Napoleon the sympathy of a prince worthy of esteem and respect, the King of Saxony, whose friendly feelings and loyalty towards him never failed, even in the midst of the cruellest adversity. At the same time it was one ally the less for Prussia.

Napoleon thereupon left for Berlin, halting at Weimar. The Grand-duchess, sister of the Emperor Alexander, came to meet him with all her court, and asked for his protection for her States. The Emperor received her with courtesy, although her husband was commanding one of the Russian army corps, and gave orders that this new Athens, the home of the first litterateurs of Germany, should be respected. As he

passed through Rosbach Napoleon gave orders for the removal of the monument which the Prussians had erected on this spot in remembrance of the battle of that name. This monument, which consisted of a small pillar, was transported to France. The scattered remnants of the vanquished army were pursued without respite in all directions. The troop amongst which the King of Prussia found himself tried to rally at Magdeburg. In his flight the King ran the risk of being taken prisoner at Weissensee, where he was cut off by a division of dragoons belonging to the French general Klein. The Prussian general Blücher saved his king by a trick, assuring General Klein that an armistice had been concluded. As a matter of fact the King had asked for an armistice but Napoleon had refused it. The general was blamed in an order of the day for having given credence to the mere word of the enemy in so serious and important a matter.

Whilst the Emperor was at Wittemberg he received a letter from the Duke of Brunswick, which was brought by an officer of his household. The Duke wrote as a suppliant to commend his country to Napoleon's generosity, and to place it under French protection. The Emperor took the opportunity to express himself very severely on the Duke of Brunswick's conduct in 1792, and in the present war, on the violent proclamation with which he had threatened the French nation with sword and fire, and the insolence with which he had summoned our brave army to evacuate Germany by gradual stages, and to flee without fighting before the Prussian eagles; and on his present abasement in coming to-day in person to implore the generosity of a people which he had dared to threaten with

shameful chastisement. Napoleon declared that he would not take reprisals, that "General" Brunswick would be treated with all the respect due to a Prussian officer, but that he would only be treated as a Prussian general, and consequently not as a sovereign; but that the inhabitants of the Duchy of Brunswick would find generous enemies in the French soldiers. He repeated several times that to destroy the dwellings of peaceful citizens was a crime which could be repaired with time and money, but that to dishonour an army by requesting it to flee before the Prussian eagles was a baseness which only the man who advised it was capable of committing.

The same Duke of Brunswick who had excited this legitimate indignation was mortally wounded at Auerstadt by a cannon-shot in the head, and was conveyed to Brunswick. He did not await the French there, and was conveyed on to Altona where he breathed his last.

The Emperor, as a proof of the satisfaction which he had felt at Marshal Davout's splendid conduct and at the bravery of his army corps at Auerstadt, reserved for them the honour of being the first to enter Berlin. He betook himself there in person towards the end of October. He spent two days at Potsdam, where he visited the castle of Sans-Souci, which he explored with great interest. He made his guides explain to him with all sorts of particulars the sort of life that the great Frederick had led in this residence of his. Writing-tables stained with ink were to be found in most of the rooms. There was an immense alcove in the King's bedroom in which Frederick the Great used to sleep on a small bed, which had been removed

since then. In the same room were to be found a number of music-desks which had been used at the concerts, at which Frederick played the flute himself and performed pieces of music which he himself had composed with the members of his private orchestra. Everything in these rooms showed this great prince's contempt for luxury and pomp. Nothing had been changed since his death. The Emperor found the King's sword, his sash as general, and his cordon of the Order of the Black Eagle, at Potsdam. He seized upon these trophies with eagerness, considering them as priceless, and presented them to the Hôtel des Invalides in Paris. We saw the apartment which Voltaire had occupied. The drawing-room, or cabinet, of this apartment was hung with a painted and varnished tapestry, which represented apes and parrots perched on trellis-work. The governor of the castle told us that this was the same tapestry which had been there in Voltaire's time, and that the King had placed it in the French philosopher's rooms with a malicious intention.

M. Chastenet de Puységur's work "On the Art of War," which we found in the library of Potsdam Castle, was opened at the very page where the King had finished reading it. A small volume, in bastard 18mo, bound in red morocco, printed in Holland, and marked with a "P" on the cover, as were all the other books in this library, was found lying on a small table. It was Montesquieu's work "On the Greatness and Decline of the Romans," and each page of this book was covered with marginal notes in the writing of the great Frederick. I carried this book to the Emperor, and he kept it in his library. M. de Talley-

rand, who heard speak of it, asked me for it. I gave it to him, but was never able to get it back, though I frequently asked him for it.

The Emperor went from Potsdam to Charlottenburg, where he slept. This was one of the King's pleasances, at about one league's distance from Berlin. He was received on his entry into this beautiful residence with music, which was such that one might have supposed that it was performed by the buglers of numerous regiments of cavalry. As a matter of fact this music was performed by one of those mechanical musical instruments which are so common in Germany. This mechanism was in this case placed in a gallery, and was of extraordinary dimensions.

The harbingers in attendance found, in a drawer in the Queen's toilet-table, a voluminous memorandum from Dumouriez on the best ways of injuring France.

The Emperor made a triumphal entry into Berlin, passing under the triumphal arch which adorns the Brandenburg gate, accompanied by his marshals, aides-de-camp, and the imperial foot-guards. He spent the best part of the month of November in the Prussian capital. He occupied the King's palace or Schloss, which seemed an unfavourable omen for the future of Prussia, for Berlin was the only capital which Napoleon had conquered in which he stayed in the sovereign's residence. Napoleon's stay in Berlin was marked by respect towards the members of the royal family, by the act of clemency with which he dealt with Prince Hatzfeldt,* and by the famous decree on the continental blockade.

* The account of the scene which passed between the Emperor and the Princess Hatzfeldt will be read with pleasure, in the following

England, abusing her maritime supremacy to the last degree, had forbidden all trade by sea between France and the neutral powers; and to carry out this measure the British Ministry had declared the coasts of France, and of the countries occupied by the French troops, to be in a state of blockade, although as a matter of fact this blockade only existed on paper.

This unexampled attempt to violate international law—which only acknowledges as blockaded a harbour that is literally blockaded by the presence of a naval force—drove Napoleon to take just reprisals by forbidding trade of any kind with England. The approach of any coast belonging to countries subjected to French arms was forbidden to the English. Any Englishman so found was declared prisoner by this mere fact;

letter which was written to the Empress Josephine, under date of the 6th November, at Berlin, at nine o'clock in the evening. It is written in the second person singular, and proves the great affection and familiarity of the imperial couple at this time:

"My Josephine,—I have received your letter in which you seem vexed with me for the nasty things which I say about women. [This is an allusion to a letter which Josephine had written to Napoleon to reproach him for having spoken with harshness of the Queen of Prussia in his bulletins—De M.] It is true that I hate intriguing women more than anything. I am accustomed to women who are good, sweet, conciliating; the sort of women that I like. It is not my fault if they have spoiled me; it is your fault. And besides, you will see that I have acted very kindly towards one who showed herself sensible and good, that is to say Madame de Hatzfeldt. When I showed her her husband's letter, she exclaimed naïvely enough and with intense feeling—sobbing the while: 'Oh, yes, that is his writing.' Whilst she was reading it I was touched to the quick. She really made me feel sorry for her. I said to her: 'Well, Madame, throw this letter into the fire, I shall no longer be strong enough to condemn your husband. She burned the letter, and seemed to me to be very happy. Her husband has been very easy since. Two hours more and he would have been lost. You see that I am fond of good, naïve, and gentle women. But it is true that those are the only women who are like you."

To avoid a clumsiness of translation I have not reproduced this familiarity in the translation.—R. H. S.

any ship having communicated with the coast of England, or with any of the English colonies, was declared to be a lawful prize; all goods of English manufacture were confiscated; all English letters, no matter what they were, were seized in the post and destroyed. The Emperor was not blind to the rigour of these measures; to the English maritime blockade he opposed the continental blockade. England forbade him the sea; he forbade her the continent. Such is the origin of the decree of Berlin, which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade.* This decree was immediately notified to the maritime powers who were allied to France, and its execution strictly enforced.

The result of the battles of Jena and Auerstadt had been the total annihilation of the fine Prussian army which had stepped on to the field of battle with as much foolhardiness as courage. It vanished, to make use of Napoleon's expression, like an autumn mist before the rising of the sun. Generals in chief, generals in command of army corps, princes, infantry, cavalry, artillery—all was gone. The pursuit of the disbanded and scattered remnants of this army in every direction resembled a hunt. All the fortified places without exception, some of which were the strongest in Europe, fell one after another into the hands of the French, who had but to present themselves at the gates to have these opened to them. All that remained to the King of Prussia was twenty thousand men fleeing, dispersed, beyond the Oder, and the only refuge that this unfortunate monarch could find was at Kœnigsberg.

The surrender of Magdeburg reminded one of the

* Issued November 21st, 1806.

taking of Ulm: twenty generals, eight hundred officers, and twenty-two thousand soldiers marched out past Marshal Ney. There were taken fifty-four flags, five standards, eight hundred pieces of cannon, a million of powder, a large pontoon-train and an immense amount of artillery materials.

Prince Jérôme, commanding an army composed of the French allies, was commissioned to reduce Silesia. He besieged and carried, one after the other, the seven great fortified places which protect this province. He was summoned from Silesia to join the *Grande Armée*, and to take part in the combats which followed upon the entry of the French into Warsaw. The reports mentioned the distinguished services which he rendered there, and the courage which often drove him right up to the enemy's outposts. He afterwards returned to Silesia and had the glory of achieving the conquest of this province. The Emperor, desiring to stimulate the spirit of emulation among the troops of the confederation of the Rhine, sent to the King of Wurtemberg a part of the flags which had been captured at Glogau by the Wurtembergers.

Napoleon had entered Berlin with a soul ulcerated and filled with bitterness against those who had provoked the war which had just brought him to this capital. This unexpected triumph, these decisive and immense results, however flattering they might be for his pride, would gladly have been bartered by him for an alliance which was now out of the question. They were the outward and visible signs of the disappearance of his favourite political dream. So also his words towards those who had lighted or fanned the flames which had just devoured their country,

were incisive, severe, and humiliating. Fidelity to the King of Prussia no longer seemed a virtue to him. He transformed all excesses of zeal for the interests of this King into the crime of high treason. His resentment manifested itself in bitter complaints—which, however, were fully justified,—against the Queen, who had allowed herself to be carried by unreasoning hatred far beyond the limits to which her sex and her rank should have restrained her; and he compared her to Armida, in her madness, setting fire to her own palace. The immoderate exaltation of this princess had been as fatal to the Prussian monarchy as the excessive prudence of her husband.

On the other hand the Emperor treated the members of the royal family, who had remained in Berlin, with respect. He paid a visit to the King's uncle, Prince Ferdinand, whose son had been killed at Saalfeld, and tried to speak some words of consolation. He also visited the widow of Prince Henry, and the King's two sisters, one of whom was in child-bed, and the other ill. He treated these princesses with delicate attentions, and provided for the wants of the second, who, in the confusion of the times, had been left deprived of all the comforts of life.

Napoleon gave orders that the pensions of Princess Henry, and of Prince and Princess Ferdinand, should be paid to them regularly, and replaced in possession of their revenues and pensions two sisters of the Duke of Brunswick, who had been mortally wounded at one of the last two great battles.

Several small principalities, independent of, though allied to, Prussia, were exempted from contributing to the war levies. The city of Leipzig was relieved of

the extraordinary levy which had been laid upon her. The English goods which had been seized there were left to the merchants, who bought them in for ten million francs. The levy imposed on the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel was put to the charge of the Elector's private debtors, and these were forced to pay into the army treasury the sums which this prince had lent them. In one word the Emperor did his best to diminish, as far as was possible, the burden of the war which weighed on the towns and minor states which had been drawn, against their will, into the struggle between Prussia and France. A suspension of hostilities had been signed at Charlottenburg, during the Emperor's stay in Berlin, where he was endeavouring to negotiate for peace. The King of Prussia having refused to ratify it, on the ground that a part of the Prussian States, which the French troops were to occupy, was in the possession of the Russians, the Emperor left Berlin for Posen.

If Prussia and her army were annihilated by our great victories, the Russian armies remained intact. Although the season was advanced the Emperor could not hesitate to march against them. The campaign in Poland was announced in a proclamation to the army, which was dated December 2nd, the second anniversary of the proclamation of the Empire. The approach of the French army had revived the undying hopes of the Poles. The people were arming in every direction, and in addresses and by deputations prayed for the re-establishment of their nationality. Napoleon would, however, make no promises. He awaited that the issue of this campaign, as he himself said, should permit him to solve "this great political problem, of

which God alone, Who holds in His hands the combinations of all events, was the arbitrator." Before leaving Posen, the Emperor concluded a treaty of peace with the Elector of Saxony, whose virtues and fidelity he held in high esteem. By the terms of this treaty the title of King was given to this prince, who after the Peace of Tilsitt, added to it that of Grand-duke of Warsaw.

A decree ordered the erection of the Temple of Glory in Paris. This monument was to bear on its front the words: "The Emperor Napoleon to the Soldiers of the Great Army," and orders were given that a plan of this building, which was to occupy the site of the Madeleine church, should be laid before the Emperor with the least possible delay.

The Emperor went from Posen towards Warsaw. The roads were in a fearful state. Duroc, the Grand Marshal of the Palace, whose carriage was upset under way, broke his shoulder-bone. It was only on the morrow that he could be transported to Warsaw.

The Emperor's entry into this ancient capital of Poland excited a state of universal delirium. He only spent three days there. Hearing that the Russian generals had stopped their retrograde movement and were marching to the front, Napoleon left Warsaw at one o'clock in the morning of December 23rd to go and encounter them. Several fights took place, notably at Nasielk, where Colonel Philippe Ségur was taken prisoner, after bravely defending himself. When Napoleon arrived at Nasielk the Russians were evacuating this town. He followed so close upon them that he entered the town before his servants had finished cleaning out the hut where he was to pass the night.

A corpse was hidden under some straw in this hut, and the servants had barely the time to remove it, almost under his eyes.

The encounters at Pultusk and Golymin ended this short campaign. The Russians had heavy losses at these places, but were preserved from certain annihilation by the heaviness of the mud, which was so thick that the cannon got stuck. Even soldiers perished in this slough, without being able to extricate themselves. It may be added that in the course of these trying marches, the indomitable courage and patient valour of the soldiers did not for an instant abandon them. The sight of the Emperor marching in the midst of the ranks on roads soaked with rain consoled them for all their sufferings, and their natural gaiety helped them to bear up against all their troubles. Sometimes a joke passed from mouth to mouth and excited general laughter. A soldier, seeing the Emperor struggling painfully against the mud and swaying on his horse which slipped at every step, began to hum this refrain of a song that was fashionable at the time:—

"On ne saurait trop embellir
Le court espace de la vie."

This parody on Cynéas's advice to Pyrrhus brought a smile to the lips of Napoleon, who was not vexed at the sally. Their privations, however, and the bad weather irritated the soldiers against Poland. There was always some epigram suggested to them by their privations. They had remembered four Polish words amongst others, and used to make up dialogues with them. These were *kleba* (bread), *voda* (water), *niema* (no), *zara* (at once). The soldiers used to say: "When

you ask the Poles for bread, they never fail to answer '*Niema kleba*'; but if you ask them for water (*voda*), oh, then it's '*zara zara zara!*'"

The alternations of snow, frost, and thaw rendered marching impossible, and the Emperor returned to Warsaw. He spent the whole month of January, 1807, there. During this halt, which gave the army a rest, Napoleon gave fêtes and concerts to the Polish ladies. He did not remain insensible to the charms of one of them, whose tenderness and devotion did not fail him in the days of misfortune.*

Prince de Bénévent presented General Baron de Vincent to the Emperor at Warsaw. The Baron was the bearer of a letter from the Emperor of Austria, whose protestations and offers did not entirely reassure Napoleon on the equivocal attitude of this power. General Andréossy, French ambassador to Vienna, had described the tendencies of the court of Austria as being very suspicious, repeating this first warning, which he had given in the month of September, towards the end of October of the same year, 1806. He sent word that this court was certainly mixed up in the political conspiracy; that Austria, with respect to the rest of the Continent, was in the same position as Prussia had been before the battle of Austerlitz; that Count Stadion was still at the head of affairs, and

* Madame Waleska. Duroc acted as go-between in this matter. On Napoleon's gallantries in general and in particular read Frederic Masson's highly interesting book: "*Napoléon et Les Femmes*" (Paris, 1893). The following typical love-letter from Napoleon to Madame Waleska will be read with interest.

"Have I displeased you, Madame? Had I not the right to hope the contrary? Am I mistaken? Your ardour has diminished, whilst mine has increased. You rob me of my peace of mind. Oh! give a little joy, a little happiness to a poor heart all ready to worship you! Is it so difficult to obtain an answer? You owe me two. N."—R. H. S.

that everything was directed by him; that, under pretext of cantoning the Austrian army, the troops of the Emperor Francis were being assembled on the Polish frontier; that, instead of disarming, Austria maintained the same attitude, and that her standing army might be estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand men; that, besides, the position and successes of the Great Army was the one object of Austria's politics and those of the Continent.

Marshal Ney wrote to the major-general that the examination of prisoners had informed him, apart from particulars concerning the movements and operations of the Russian and Prussian troops, "that it was generally believed that on the first successes obtained by the Russians—successes which they thought certain by reason of their numerical superiority—the Austrian army would give a diversion in Moravia and march into Silesia."

An old Polish soldier, born in 1690, was presented to the Emperor during his stay in Warsaw. This old man of one hundred and seventeen was without any infirmity, and in the full enjoyment of his memory. He had known King Sobieski, and remembered the stories which his father had told him of the battle at which he was present when the King of Poland defeated the Turks and forced them to raise the siege of Vienna in 1683. In answer to a petition, written in Polish and in a still firm handwriting, which was handed to him by this patriarch of days gone by, Napoleon ordered that a pension of one hundred napoleons should be paid to him, and one year's pension in advance.

A serious attack upon our cantonments, made by the Russian army, forced Napoleon to take the field

again, in spite of the extreme cold. He left Warsaw to fight with the Russians the battle of Preussisch-Eylau, which was bloody and hardly contested. A horrible spectacle was the sight of this battle-field, covered with corpses, and furrowed with blood, which lay in long lines mapped out on the snow. We had slept the evening before at the little village of Eylau, and returned there on the evening after the battle. The Emperor deeply regretted the loss of one of his aides-de-camp, General Corbineau the elder, who was killed whilst carrying an order in the course of the engagement. We had passed the night sleeping on the same straw with this officer, and he had expressed a vague presentiment that the morrow would be fatal to him.

One of the most daring cavalry actions known in the history of war must not be passed over in silence here. A body of twenty-four squadrons—composed for the most part of the division of General d'Hautpoul's cuirassiers and mounted grenadiers of the imperial guard, commanded by General Lepic—charged the Russian squares. These intrepid cavalrymen broke into the centre of the Russian army, wheeled round, charged again, and forced their way right up to the third line of the enemy's infantry, which they annihilated. General d'Hautpoul was mortally wounded during this magnificent charge. Before dying he had strength enough left him to write to the Emperor to express his devotion to him. Napoleon consoled the last moments of this brave soldier with the following letter:

"PREUSS.-EYLAU, FEB. 9th, 1807.

"M. LE GENERAL D'HAUTPOUL—I was extremely touched

by the letter which you have written to me. Your wound is not such as to deprive your son of his father. You will live to lead other charges at the head of your brave division, and to cover yourself with fresh glory. You and your children may rely upon the interest I take in you.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

The Emperor, by a decree dated from Osterode on March 6th, 1807, ordered that an equestrian statue representing General d'Hautpoul in his cuirassier uniform, should be made from the metal of twenty-four cannon which had been captured at Eylau.

Marshal Augereau, also, was wounded in this disastrous battle. This wound and acute rheumatic pains, with which he was tormented, temporarily affected his mind. I saw him, by chance, riding up to the Emperor, with his hat in his hand. The perspiration was pouring from his head, though it was bitterly cold at the time. This Marshal, usually so brilliant on the field of battle, came to say that he no longer understood anything about the manœuvres, and asked to be replaced. Napoleon listened to him with kindness, and said a few words of consolation, and them commissioned General Compans to take over the temporary command of his army corps. On the morrow permission was granted to the Marshal to return to France to attend to his health.

The Russians claimed the victory for themselves and, according to their custom, had a *Te Deum* chanted at St. Petersburg. But during the night which followed this bloody day, they decamped, leaving us masters of the field of battle, with many thousands of prisoners, forty cannon, and sixteen flags. One of the Russian army corps which had fought at Eylau, fell

in, on its retreat, with the fifth corps which General Savary was commanding in the absence of Marshal Lannes, who was lying sick at Warsaw. From this encounter came the battle of Ostrolenka, which is mentioned in the reports as a combat, but at which, as a matter of fact, three divisions of the French army were engaged. The Russians were completely routed. Napoleon expressed his satisfaction at the way General Savary had acted, and awarded him the grand decoration of the Legion of Honour. General Savary returned to his service as aide-de-camp to the Emperor.

Napoleon spent three days at Eylau occupied in arranging for the removal of the wounded, and in hurrying on the arrival of provisions required for the army. Some days after the battle he replied to the proposals which the King of Prussia had made to him. He expressed himself anxious to put an end to Prussia's misfortunes. He offered to conclude a separate peace with him, and to reorganize the Prussian monarchy, which, as an intermediary power and as a barrier against Russia, was necessary for the tranquillity of the whole of Europe. General Bertrand was charged with this letter. The King's answer was brought to Osterode by the Prussian general Kleist, who had orders to add some verbal explanations. The King of Prussia could not resign himself to sign a treaty from which his ally was to be excluded. He proposed the assembly of a congress at which Prussia, Russia, England, and Sweden should be represented. Prussia had just bound herself to England by a convention, and had already received the first instalments of an English subsidy. She hoped to find a powerful ally in this state, and thought that a treaty made in

conjunction with England and Russia would be less disadvantageous to her than a separate peace. The Emperor, in his turn, answered that the inevitable delay of a congress was not in accordance with the present situation of Prussia, although he also desired to come to an understanding with Russia and England. This correspondence resulted in nothing, though the communications between the head-quarters of the belligerent parties were not interrupted during the time which Napoleon spent at Osterode and Finckenstein.

From Eylau the Emperor went to take up his winter quarters, at first at Osterode, so as to be near his cantonments, and spent the end of February and the whole month of March here. He issued numerous orders from Osterode to provide for means of subsistence, flour, wines, brandies, rum, and beer for the soldiers and the invalids, and forage for the horses. He ordered at the same time that detailed reports on the state of the storehouses which had been concentrated at Pultusk, Warsaw, and other places, should be laid before him. He asked the heads of the various corps for information as to how their soldiers were living. Provisions for the soldiers were the first object of his care, and he also paid great attention to the state of the hospitals. Then followed orders to provide for the salubrity and safety of the cantonments, for remounting the cavalry, to bring up distant corps, and thus to reinforce the army; to form provisional regiments at Mayence, and to march them to Potsdam and other places; to recall French divisions, the Polish legion, and the Polish lancers from Italy; and to form with the latter an observation corps, the command of which was given to the Polish general Zayonchek.

Other orders provided for the distribution of the funds allotted to the artillery, to the engineers, to the commissariat, accoutrement and transport services, for the awarding of recompenses, and for watching the movements of the enemy.

On April 1st Napoleon went to live in the Castle of Finckenstein, where he spent the months of April and May. During his stay here the same labours were the object of his constant activity. He used to make short excursions from Finckenstein to visit the army corps, and to see the bridge which he had had built over the Vistula. In the prolonged inactivity of his residence in winter quarters Napoleon showed that he knew how to ally patience and tact with the impetuous outbursts of his genius. Work was his element and beguiled his impatience. The necessity of preparing decisive triumphs to master the enemies, who allowed him no hope of safety but in victory; to keep his allies to their duty, and to reassure France, all these duties made his time of waiting, so advantageously used by him, appear very short.

As a matter of fact he had barely the time necessary for the operations of the war on the one hand, and the care of the government of his vast empire on the other.

CHAPTER II.

Excellent Results of General Sebastiani's Embassy to Constantinople—Decision on the Monument Dedicated to the Great Army—Reception of the Ambassadors of Turkey and Persia—The Ambassador Accompanies the Emperor at a Grand Review—Persian History of Alexander the Great—Treaty with Persia—Failure of the Negotiations Begun with the Turkish Ambassador—Armistice with Sweden—Siege and Taking of Dantzig—Marshal Lefebvre Becomes Duke of Dantzig—Fruitless Negotiations with the Allies—Attack by the Russians—Victory of Heilsberg and Friedland—Tilsitt—Interview Between the two Emperors and the King of Prussia—Stay at Tilsitt—Familiar Life and Intimacy of the two Emperors—The Queen of Prussia at Tilsitt—Plans for the Division of Turkey—Treaties of Tilsitt (Public and Secret Clauses)—Creation of the Kingdom of Westphalia and the Grand-duchy of Warsaw—Constitution—Project for the Exchange of Silesia for Austrian Galicia—Reason why this Plan was Given Up—On the Tilsitt Alliance—Bombardment of Copenhagen—General Indignation in Europe—M. de Talleyrand's Friends Suspected of an Abuse of Confidence—Death of the Crown Prince of Holland—Tragic End of Sultan Selim—Departure of the Sovereigns from Tilsitt—Their Leave-taking—Napoleon's Stay in Kœnigsberg and Dresden—General Savary's Mission to St. Petersburg—Arrival of the Emperor at St. Cloud—General Rejoicings—Organization of the Kingdom of Westphalia—Pictures from the Cassel Gallery—Liberal Constitution—Interview between Prince Jérôme and the Princess of Wurtemberg at the Château du Raincy—Civil and Religious Marriage—The King and the Queen Spend Three Months in Paris—Change in the Ministry—M. de Talleyrand appointed Vice-Grand Elector—He Leaves the Foreign Office—Suppression of the Tribunate—Examination of Laws Attributed to Commissions—Re-establishment of the Audit Office—New Arming Against England—Army of Observation Intended to Force Portugal to Accede to the Tilsitt Conventions—Busy Work in the Cabinet—General Confidence—Opening of the Session of the Legislature by the Emperor—Institution of a Hereditary Nobility—Presents Distributed Amongst the Chiefs of the Army—The Extraordinary Domain—The Emperor's Views as to My Future—Stay at Fontainebleau—The Army on the March for Portugal—Contentions Between France and Spain—Convention with Denmark—Letters from King Charles IV. and the Prince of the Asturias to the Emperor—Long Conversations on This Subject with the Prince of Bénévent—Madame de Bonchamps—General Ordener, First Equerry to the Empress—Journey in Italy—Crossing Mount Cénis—Fêtes Given at Milan—Prince Eugene Declared Heir Presumptive to the Crown of Italy—New Decrees or Reprisals on the New Edict of the British Government—Stay in Venice—Fêtes—Interview Between Napoleon and Lucien Bonaparte at Mantua—Lucien's Eldest Daughter Sent to Paris—The Emperor's Intentions as to This Child—The Emperor's Displeasure: the Child Sent Back to Her Father—Stay in Alexandria—Return to Paris—The Grand Sanhédrin—Reports Handed in by the Various Classes of the Institute—New Letters from the King of Spain—Suit Against the Prince of the Asturias—The Degeneration of Spain—She Inspires the Emperor with Mistrust—He Thinks of Taking Precautions Against this Doubtful Ally—March of the French Armies

Through Spain—They are Marched on to Madrid—The Aranjuez Revolution against the Prince de la Paix—Abdication of Charles IV.—Missions of M. de Tournon and General Savary to Madrid—The Emperor's Letter to the Grand-duke of Berg—Remark on This Letter—Entry of the Grand-duke into Madrid—Prince Ferdinand's Solemn Entry on the Morrow—Charles IV.'s Protest against His Abdication—Popular Enthusiasm—Last Conference in Paris on Spanish Affairs—The Emperor's Overture to the King of Holland—Departure of the Emperor for Bayonne—The Château of Marrac—The Prince of Asturia Decides to Come to Bayonne—He Halts at Vittoria—A Letter from the Emperor Decides Him to Continue His Journey—His Arrival in Bayonne—The Emperor Visits Him First and Invites Him to Dinner—The Emperor's Opinion on His Perfidy and on the Mediocrity of His Friends—He speaks of His Projects to Canon Escoïquitz—Ferdinand's Protest—Arrival of the Old Sovereigns at Bayonne—Their Indignation Against Their Son—Charles IV. Summoned to Resign the Crown—Ferdinand's Answer—Fermentation in Madrid Provoked by the Correspondence—The Second Day of May—Violent Scene Between the King and His Son—Napoleon, who is Present, Declares that he Recognizes Charles IV. Alone as King—Refusal of the King to Resume the Crown—Act by Which He Cedes It to the Emperor—Indemnities—Reflections on the Means Employed—Courier Sent from Bayonne to King Joseph—The Emperor's Care to Preserve the Colonies—Convocation of a Junta at Bayonne—Departure of Charles IV. for Fontainebleau and of the Spanish Princes for Valançay—Constitution of Bayonne—Joseph Made King of Spain—Murat Made King of Naples—Departure of the Emperor and the Empress—General Dessolles at Auch—Stay at Toulouse and Bordeaux—The Emperor Hears of the Capitulation of Baïlen at Bordeaux—His Indignation and Grief—Marescot—Vedel—Answer to the Reproach of Not Having Had the Accused Tried—General Insurrection in Spain—Cruelties Committed—The Emperor Received with Triumph in the Vendée—Return to St. Cloud.

IT was during his stay at the Castle of Finckenstein that the Emperor heard of the results of General Sebastiani's brilliant embassy to Constantinople. I will not enter into the particulars of the important services which this ambassador rendered to the Porte on this occasion in the interests of France. Napoleon highly praised the energy and skill with which General Sebastiani had raised the courage of the Turks, and had stimulated them to put their capital and the Bosphorus into a state of defence, as well as the activity and the vigour which he had shown in directing the works himself, and in triumphing over the Ottoman apathy. The complete success obtained by our ambassador made French influence predominant in the Divan. The Emperor himself had taken care

to keep up the Sultan's favourable feelings towards France. He kept writing him pressing letters, urging him to place himself at the head of his troops, reminding him of the glory of the Selims and the Amuraths—in one word he had aroused in this weak, but really gifted prince a feeling of generous indignation against the oppression of England. Selim, in his enthusiasm for Napoleon, and disobeying the law of the Koran, which forbids all representations of the human face, had desired to have a portrait of the Emperor, following the example of Sultan Mustapha, who, in his admiration for the great Frederick, had placed a portrait of this king in his seraglio—the only portrait that had ever entered its doors. Selim, in exchange sent the Emperor his portrait, which was placed in the Emperor's cabinet. It was the chevalier Amédée Jaubert who, passing through Constantinople on his way back from a diplomatic mission to Persia, brought this portrait, together with the portrait of Feth-Aly-Shah, back to Finckenstein.

It was at Finckenstein also that the Emperor decided on the plan of the monument which he wished to dedicate to the Great Army, and the erection of which he had ordered on December 2nd, 1806. The buildings of the Madeleine church, which had been abandoned in an advanced state of construction in 1790, and as to the occupation of which Napoleon had frequently hesitated, were definitely appropriated to this monument. The committee of the Institute, charged with the inspection of the plans submitted for the competition, had forwarded various plans, and had indicated which amongst them they had considered the most suitable. Napoleon had charged M. Fontaine, his

architect, to be present at the inspection of the plans, which was to take place at the Ministry of the Interior, and to report to him on the subject. This report not having reached the Emperor in time, he decided to accept M. Vignon's plan, which had only obtained the second place, but which pleased the Emperor by the grandeur of its dimensions and form. What the Emperor wanted was a building, not of the style of modern churches, but which would recall antique monuments, and be superior both in majesty and magnificence to the finest buildings which antiquity had bequeathed to us. No wood, and nothing but iron, marble, and gold were to be used in the construction of this building. M. Vignon's plan fulfilled some of the necessary conditions, but was wanting in general arrangement and in points of detail. M. Fontaine's remarks made Napoleon regret not to have awaited his architect's report before coming to a decision.

As the author of the successful plan had no practical experience of building, M. Rondelet, an architect, was associated with M. Vignon, to superintend the carrying out of the construction, M. Fontaine having refused the post. M. Rondelet was the most celebrated pupil of the great Soufflot, who, on his deathbed, had mentioned him as the man most capable of finishing the great cathedral of Ste. Géneviève, which has since become the Panthéon.

The Madeleine, a grandiose specimen of architecture under the Empire, and constructed on the model of the temples of ancient Greece, is not adapted to the requirements of a church. It was proposed to place Napoleon's tomb in this building, and this plan had the advantage of giving the founder of the impe-

rial edifice a last home in a monument, at once religious and national, which had been erected under his reign. But the Restoration decided otherwise, and the Madeleine was purely and simply restored to divine worship.

The Emperor received the Turkish and Persian ambassadors at Finckenstein. Mirza-Rizza, a great Persian nobleman, arrived in Warsaw early in March, at the same time as a Turkish ambassador. The Persian envoy was summoned, towards the end of April, to Finckenstein where he was treated with great respect, and put into relations with the Secretary of State—Maret, Duke of Bassano. The negotiations only lasted a few days, and the treaty was signed on May the 8th. The learned orientalist Jaubert, dragoman secretary to the imperial cabinet, acted as intermediary between the two negotiators. The Persian ambassador offered the Emperor some pearls and shawls on this occasion, representing them as coming from himself, because he feared that they might give a lower idea than he wished of his sovereign, as a good courtier, or from a feeling of national pride. He pretended that his master's presents had not yet arrived, and presented his own, saying that he prayed the lion to receive the gifts of the ant. He accompanied Napoleon to a great review following the Emperor step by step amidst the ranks of the soldiers, walking on the ploughed fields with his beautiful slippers and trailing robe. It was very hot weather, and he returned to Finckenstein quite worn out. Throwing himself on his couch, he kept exclaiming, exhausting the whole vocabulary of admiration, "How great! How fine! How magnificent!" Below his breath he muttered: "I am

dying of fatigue." The Emperor used to walk out with him in the gardens of Finckenstein every day. One day the poor ambassador found himself in a very awkward position. His supply of henna had run out, a red substance which he used for dyeing his nails and the palms of his hands, and he was as much ashamed to appear before the Emperor with white hands as the habitué of our drawing-rooms in Paris would have been to present himself without gloves. One day the conversation turned on the history of Alexander, and the ambassador said that the true history of this conqueror was to be found in Persia. Mirza-Rizza departed on his way back home immediately after the signing of the treaty. He was followed shortly afterwards by General Gardanne, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, who was accredited as ambassador to the court of Teheran. Napoleon at the same time sent some distinguished officers to be attached to his legation. They were intended to act as instructors and auxiliaries to the Persian army. As to General Gardanne, who went to Teheran in the hopes of finding a treasure which had formerly been buried in this capital by his grandfather, his searches were in vain.

The Turkish ambassador, Seïb-Wahid-Emin-Effendi, arrived in Finckenstein a month later. He was as much lacking in wit and intelligence as Mirza-Rizza had been distinguished for these qualities, and was essentially a formal and fastidious person. Commissioned to tighten the bonds of friendship which united us to Turkey, he did not consider himself vested with sufficient powers to conclude a real alliance. During a conference which took place between him and the Emperor in the garden of the castle of Finckenstein,

Napoleon urged him to conclude, making signs with his hand to try and make the Turkish ambassador understand that the Russians had made us proposals of peace. At last, to compel him to come to a decision, the Emperor declared to him that if no arrangement was come to between France and Turkey, peace would inevitably be made with Russia to the exclusion of the Porte. Wahid contented himself with answering that he needed fresh instructions, that the answer to his letter would not occasion a delay of more than forty days, and that he begged the Emperor to wait. Napoleon, who could not submit to delay, was made very impatient by this obstinacy.

In the meanwhile events were progressing, and in the interests of the campaign Napoleon left for Dantzig. He summoned the Turkish ambassador to join him there, and to continue the negotiations with the Duke of Vicence, who was not a whit more successful. All these conferences came to nothing, and hostilities with the Russians recommenced. Wahid-Effendi proceeded to Paris, where he soon heard of Sultan Selim's decision, which deprived him of his powers.

The Treaty of Tilsitt was signed, and Turkey had missed her opportunity of uniting herself in a close alliance with France, which would have been advantageous to both states. The failure of Napoleon's efforts to bring the Porte to this line of action was of a nature to cool his feelings towards this state; however, in spite of the obstinacy which had been shown in these delays, either owing to the incapacity of the representative sent to Finckenstein, or to the influence of Russia on the Divan, the good understanding between Turkey and France did not appear to

be in the least diminished; but M. de Talleyrand showed himself very offended that anybody but himself should have been chosen to treat either with Turkey or with Persia.

The war with Sweden continued. Marshal Mortier received orders to occupy Pomerania and to besiege Stralsund, the garrison of which was a menace to our lines of communication. The Emperor considered the war with Sweden bad policy. He bitterly regretted that the Swedes had set fire to the fine faubourg of Stralsund and that two thousand of the inhabitants were in consequence homeless.

He deplored the sufferings caused to a nation which was our natural ally. He had in consequence expressed a wish to Marshal Mortier that a suspension of hostilities might be concluded, thanks to which friendly relations might once more be established between the Swedes and ourselves. This wish for a truce was realized, although no definite treaty of peace was concluded. An armistice which had been granted for a period of ten days only, and which the Emperor had had prolonged, lasted until about the middle of July. Peace had just been signed at Tilsitt, when the armistice was broken by the King of Sweden. It looked as if he had awaited the very moment when Napoleon could dispose of all his forces to commit this imprudent act. The Swedes were thereupon expelled from Pomerania, which was occupied by the French troops, as also from Stralsund and the island of Rugen. The King, having in this way lost his possessions in Germany, returned to Sweden.

During his stay at Osterode, the Emperor had undertaken the siege of Dantzig, which, for the success of

his military operations, it was highly important for him to occupy. He had intended to appoint Marshal Victor to the command of the besieging army, but this soldier was taken prisoner on his way to his post by the Prussian Schill, whom we shall see playing a more important part in the war of 1809 against Austria. Marshal Lefebvre was then commissioned to conduct the siege. Marshal Kalkreuth, on his side, defended Dantzig with stubborn courage. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, feeling how necessary it was to save this fortified place, sent reinforcements, but all their attempts to raise the siege were in vain. An English corvette, the Sans Peur—carrying twenty-four cannons, and freighted with powder and cannon balls—was boarded and captured by a picket of the regiment of Paris. Lacking it is true in deep science, Marshal Lefebvre displayed all his bravery and all his activity in the task which had been entrusted to him, and General Chasseloup directed the operations of the siege with skill. At last, after a resistance of two months, which did great credit to the Prussian general, at the very moment when the town was going to be taken by storm, Kalkreuth asked to capitulate. In recognition of his brave defence Napoleon granted him honourable terms. The same day, Marshal Lefebvre made his entry into the town.

It was at Finckenstein, on May 29th, that the Emperor heard the news of the surrender of Dantzig. He at once sent General Rapp to take over the command of this place. Napoleon went himself to spend two days there, and to visit his new conquest. He approved of the works which had been executed by the engineers, and complimented Marshal Lefebvre on

his splendid conduct. He created him Duke of Dantzig, and handsomely endowed the new title. He authorized him to accept a considerable sum of money, the exact amount of which I forget, which the States had offered of their own accord to the Marshal, but which he had refused to accept without the Emperor's permission. On leaving the Sovereign, the new Duke slipped. He was not superstitious, and so, picking himself up, he said good-naturedly: "Egad, my good town of Dantzig is badly paved." Napoleon having distributed numerous rewards amongst the soldiers who had taken part in the siege, returned to Finckenstein by way of Marienburg, to prepare to resume the offensive.

In spite of his success and of the satisfactory state of his army, which had recruited itself in the cantonments, the Emperor was anxious on account of his difficult situation between obstinate enemies and doubtful allies, and on account also of his prolonged absence from France. He was not in ignorance of the fact that it was the victory of Jena alone which had prevented the Austrian Ministry from declaring itself against him, and the Spanish Cabinet from attacking him. He strongly inclined to prefer an advantageous peace to continuing the war, although he considered himself very well able to stand against his enemies. Napoleon had showed the most conciliatory disposition. He had offered to conclude a treaty with the Russians on the same conditions as those which were signed in the preceding month of July by M. d'Oubril, at Paris. He was not indisposed to restore his provinces and capital to the King of Prussia. The Prussian Cabinet had declared that it could not separate its cause from

that of its ally, and, as a matter of fact, it was in the hands of Russia. The Austrian Cabinet, which had sent M. Vincent to Warsaw, where the Emperor had left him with M. de Talleyrand, wanted nothing better than to intervene in the negotiation. Forced to declare itself, Austria had offered her mediation with the mental reservation of swaying the negotiations, or of crushing us in case reverses came upon us. The Emperor had accepted the mediation of this power so as to be consistent with the pacific sentiments which he had expressed. England approved, Prussia seemed inclined to accept, but the Emperor of Russia dissuaded the King of Prussia. The Czar's armies had been strongly reinforced, and the half-success of the battle of Eylau, which his generals represented to him as a victory, had given Alexander confidence. He had made tempting promises to the King of Prussia, and had induced this prince to conclude, at Bartenstein, a convention which was a trial of the agreements which were negotiated and concluded in 1813, with greater success. The object of this convention was the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy, the restoration of their independence to the German States, and the realization of important projects against France in the event of the war having a favourable termination. England and Sweden agreed to the Bartenstein convention, but Austria refused to take part in it. In the meanwhile the reunion of a general congress in which all the belligerent powers in Europe were to be represented had been proposed to the Emperor and agreed to by him under certain reservations. The allies expressed a wish to hear on what basis Napoleon proposed to treat, whilst they themselves suggested none. Napo-

leon had answered without hesitation that his bases would be equality, reciprocity and a system of equitable compensations. Our enemies no doubt considered this moderation as a proof of weakness on his part, and all the more in consequence staked their hopes on the hazards of war, for, at the very moment when it was thought that the last obstacle to the congress had been removed, the Russian army marched out of its encampment and attacked the French army.

The consequence of this attack was to force the Emperor to leave Finckenstein hastily. I followed him as far as Dantzig. I was detained by sickness for a fortnight in this town, at the end of which time I rejoined Napoleon. Marshal Ney, attacked by a large portion of the Russian army, made a firm resistance. He retreated in good order and held his own until the French army had been assembled. It was then Napoleon who took the offensive. The victories of Heilsberg and Friedland followed. This last battle was decisive, for the Russian army was crushed and forced to take refuge beyond the Niemen. The defeat of her allies deprived Prussia of her last resources and did away with all hope of re-establishing her affairs. The Emperor of Russia was reduced to ask for an armistice, during which negotiations for peace might be entered upon. Napoleon made no difficulty in accepting this proposal and despatched General Duroc to arrange the conditions of the truce.

My health having been restored by rest, and our great victories having also contributed to my cure, I was impatient to rejoin the Emperor. On my way through Kœnigsberg, where General Savary, whose services and unfailing fidelity were recompensed six

months later with the title of Duke of Rovigo, had been left as governor of the city, I saw Prince de Bénévent who was awaiting the Emperor's orders there. I preceded him by some days and proceeded in company with the Count de Turenne, chamberlain and orderly officer, to head-quarters. We passed through the forest of Wehlau, which was said to be full of peasants who had taken refuge there, and who used to sally out on expeditions against the rear of the army. Although we were without escort we were lucky enough not to make any bad encounters.

The Emperor had been in Tilsitt three days when I arrived there. Almost simultaneously, General Duroc arrived from carrying the ratification of the armistice, concluded between the two armies, to the Emperor Alexander's head-quarters. I heard that this was his second journey and that an interview between the two Emperors had been agreed upon. It duly took place, two days later, in a tent which had been erected on a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen. Napoleon who had arrived first crossed through the tent and went to meet the Emperor Alexander. The two sovereigns, with a spontaneous movement fell into each other's arms and embraced. It was a beautiful sight and its impressiveness was increased by the cheers of the two armies drawn up on either side of the river, cheers which starting from the right shore and echoed back from the left, mingled in one loud shout. A second interview to which the Emperor Alexander brought the King of Prussia took place on the same raft, on the morrow. The two foreign sovereigns afterwards established themselves in the town of Tilsitt, which had been rendered neutral for the time

being. The two armies kept their respective positions on the two banks of the Niemen and a perfectly friendly understanding grew up between them.

On the day on which the two Emperors returned into the town, a dinner was given at Napoleon's quarters. On the morrow and following days they rode out together, accompanied by the King of Prussia. The object of their rides was to visit the various encampments of their armies. They held reviews, they ate of the soldiers' soup, and paid each other all the usual compliments. The Emperor Alexander took pleasure in exhibiting his picked men, the Russian guards and the Cossack regulars. Napoleon admired them, and even distributed some decorations of the Legion of Honour amongst them. So intimate did the two Emperors become, that, when on returning from their excursions the Czar was to dine with Napoleon, the latter would not allow him to go home to change his dress. He used to send somebody to the house where Alexander lived to fetch the things he needed. He used to send him his own cravats and handkerchiefs through his valet. He placed his big gold travelling bag at his disposal, and as Alexander had praised the carvings of the various fittings, and the way in which the bag was arranged, Napoleon made him a present of it before they separated. When they returned before the dinner-hour it was for the sake of a free *tête-à-tête*. On such occasions they used to leave the King of Prussia, and go into a little gallery which adjoined the Emperor's work-room. Sometimes Napoleon would bring the Czar into his study and ask for his maps, which included one of Turkey in Europe. I have seen them bending over this map and then

continuing their conversation as they walked up and down. Schemes of partition were occupying them. Constantinople was the only point on which they were not visibly agreed.*

It was easy to see that Napoleon did not wish these questions to give rise to any discussions likely to trouble the harmony which had been re-established between them, and that a tacit agreement had been come to, to maintain, provisionally at least, the *statu quo*. It would, moreover, be difficult to assign any results to the conversations which I overheard in the study, which for the most part began but did not end; or having begun outside, ended there. Nothing besides was written on this subject. In their familiar conversations the two Emperors often spoke of home politics and forms of government. Alexander used to describe a hereditary crown as a source of abuses, whilst Napoleon could not find arguments enough to prove that it was precisely a hereditary monarchy which assured the peace and the happiness of the people. The Emperor Napoleon in relating these conversations used to say that if the opinions expressed by Alexander were not the outcome of what he had been taught by his tutor, the Swiss colonel Laharpe, they were the effect of his tendencies to mysticism. It may be supposed, seeing that Alexander's conduct was not entirely straightforward, that his arguments, though seriously expressed, were only spoken with a purpose, and were far from being his real opinions.

The Emperor Alexander was tall, well-built, and elegant. He spoke French without any accent, and

* "Constantinople!" Napoleon used to say, "That is the conquest of the world."

always expressed himself with grace and dignity. His way of receiving people was familiar rather than imposing, and his manners were open, though his look was not always a frank one. He used to listen to Napoleon with extreme interest, and behaved with filial deference towards him. He used to walk with his head slightly bent on one side, from the habit of bending down to listen through deafness in one ear. Possibly he wanted to resemble Alexander the Great in this respect.

The Queen of Prussia came to Tilsitt, ten or twelve days after the Niemen interview, accompanied by her mistress of the robes, Countess de Voss. The Queen was a woman of middle height but very imposing, and her profile was an admirable one. Her beauty was splendid although she was at that time no longer in the freshness of youth, being thirty-two years old. I saw her when she came to dine with the Emperor. She had relied on the resources of her wit and her charms to obtain better terms for Prussia. But though Napoleon affected a gallant and respectful bearing towards her, all the complaints, prayers, and importunities of this deeply humiliated queen, all the feminine wiles to which she had recourse were bound to fail, and as a matter of fact did fail before the stern exigencies of politics. Besides, the Queen had come after all had been settled. She effected nothing but to hasten on the conclusion of the two treaties with Russia and Prussia.

On the morrow of the Queen's arrival, three treaties were signed. One of these was between France and Russia, another was between France and Prussia. The third was a separate treaty which the two emperors

mutually engaged to keep a profound secret. The two first treaties are known. The secret treaty itself has become public property since the circumstances have ceased to exist under the influence of which it was concluded. The two allied powers engaged in this treaty to make common cause in any and every eventuality, to force England to peace, to take away all the Porte's European provinces, with the exception of Constantinople, to force Portugal and the Northern powers to close their ports against English trade, and to use their influence to induce Austria to declare war on her side against England.

An article of the treaty with Russia, mentioned that it was out of consideration for the Emperor Alexander that the Emperor Napoleon consented to restore to the King of Prussia the provinces which were left to him. This loss amounted to about half of the whole territory which had belonged to the King of Prussia before the war. The principal conditions of the public treaties were the creation of a new kingdom in favour of Jérôme Bonaparte, Napoleon's youngest brother, and the establishment of a Grand-duchy of Warsaw out of the Polish provinces which Prussia had lost. This new state was given to the King of Saxony, with the exception of the district of Byalystock, which was detached from these provinces and ceded to Russia.

The constitution which Napoleon gave to the Grand-duchy of Warsaw was conceived in a manner to assure to the inhabitants of this State institutions for the protection of their liberties conciliating these with the tranquillity of the Polish provinces incorporated with Russia and Austria. This constitution abolished serfdom, and made all citizens equal before the law, declared

that the Napoleonic code should be the civil law of the state, and prescribed that all trials, whether civil or criminal, should be held in public. It suppressed the diets, the *pospolita*, the *liberum veto* and all the other privileges of the Polish nobility, which had been the causes of troubles and anarchy in the kingdom. The executive power was vested in the Grand-duke, the legislative power was attributed to a Senate composed of a minimum of eighteen and a maximum of thirty members, and to a house of nuncios, composed of one hundred deputies from the districts and communes. These chambers had the power of passing or of rejecting the laws which in every case had to be presented to them on the initiative of the Grand-duke.

The creation of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw in favour of the King of Saxony, whose predecessors had reigned in Poland, had so great an influence on the subsequent relations between the Russian and the French empires that the mere mention of so important an event will not suffice. The Grand-duchy was formed of provinces which had belonged to the old Polish monarchy, which Prussia had obtained at the various divisions, and which she had just lost by the fate of war. Russia had no scruples about profiting by a small part of her ally's losses. The importance of the creation of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw cannot have been misunderstood by the Emperor Alexander, and if he assisted in this matter it was because he did not feel himself sufficiently strong at the time to oppose it. We shall see him later on, when Russia had repaired her losses, had realized the most solid advantages of the treaty of Tilsitt, and had finished the conquest of Finland, expressing his displeasure

at the enlargement of the Duchy of Warsaw, which, however, could with difficulty be considered as anything else than a stepping-stone. The creation of this State, as a matter of fact, seemed a kind of forerunner to the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy, and this capital question was the rock on which the Franco-Russian alliance was to break. The treaty of Tilsitt might have become the instrument of the reconstitution of the Kingdom of Poland, and it is perhaps a matter of regret that the iniquitous parcelling out of this brave nation was not repaired by its means. The Emperor, encouraged by the prodigious success of the campaign which had rendered him master of the whole Kingdom of Prussia, was for a moment tempted to dispose of Silesia in exchange for Galicia with Austria. Napoleon would in this way have been able to reconstitute the Kingdom of Poland, less the missing Russian provinces, on the most solid basis; but this restoration could not be but the work of time. At the time of the peace of Tilsitt numerous obstacles stood in the way of the realization of Napoleon's good intentions. The Emperor Alexander could not with decency give countenance to the infliction of fresh sacrifices on his ally. By acting in spite of him Napoleon would have dissatisfied Russia without conciliating Austria, whose tendencies were the constant object of his suspicion. And moreover he was anxious for a settlement; his absence, which had already been too greatly prolonged, the distance he was from France, and other considerations —the influence of which he no doubt had appreciated, and of which he had measured all the importance—induced him to abandon a plan which, no doubt, afterwards he regretted not to have carried out to the end.

The Russian alliance sealed at Tilsitt, as well as the triumphs of the two immortal campaigns which had preceded it, lifted the power and the glory of the Emperor Napoleon to their highest summits. The consequences to France were, of necessity, immense. It was only after the disaster at Moscow that cause for blame was found. Adversity undertook, as a matter of fact, to prove that this treaty contained in germ the ruin of the Empire. Adversity discovered that the Emperor could have crossed the Niemen after the victory of Friedland, and could have followed up his successes with a powerful army at a time when the Russian and Prussian forces were almost entirely destroyed. Napoleon had good reasons for acting thus, but no doubt he had better reasons for stopping at the time we are speaking of, and for concluding the important treaty of Friedland, although politicians have blamed him, perhaps not without reason, for placing too much trust in the Emperor Alexander, and for leaving Prussia either too strong or too weak.

The decree issued at Berlin, by which the British Isles were declared in a state of blockade, in creating the continental system, rendered it necessary to take extraordinary measures for carrying it out, so that no loophole might be left open to English commerce. The uneasiness caused by the interruption of maritime trade, tended, as can easily be understood, to tire out the perseverance of the states involved in the continental system; but the power which first violated it, although suffering less thereby than other powers, was Russia —restored to confidence and strength by her alliance with France. The treaty of Tilsitt, which inaugurated this alliance, brought with it a system of concessions

the entire advantage of which was in favour of the Russian Empire. Disadvantages and dangers were all that France ever derived from this treaty. The principal results of this agreement were to place Russia at once, and on easy terms, in possession of Finland, to involve us in the unfortunate Spanish campaign, and to prevent the restoration of Poland. The French alliance stimulated anew the insatiable greed of Russia. This favourable circumstance, arousing the Czar's claims on the Ottoman Empire, encouraged him to ask for its division and the occupation of Constantinople. Napoleon's just refusal awoke a feeling of discontented coolness in Alexander's bosom, which he did his best to disguise under the appearance of the most captivating friendship, and which, after our troubles in Spain, and the inevitable consequences of the continental blockade transformed itself into open enmity. The difficulties created by these various causes were great, but not insurmountable. It needed the disasters of Moscow and of Leipzig to overthrow the beautiful monument of Napoleon's glory.

One of the most iniquitous and most barbarous acts of English politics, committed shortly after the treaty of Tilsitt, excited general indignation in Europe. An English fleet, freighted with an army of thirty-five thousand men, under the command of General Cathcart, suddenly appeared off the coasts of Denmark, although the Danish Government had done nothing whatever to furnish England with a pretext for an attack. The only excuse which the British Government dared to make for this atrocious violation of international law was, that to all appearances, it was

the intention of the Danish Government to ally its naval forces with those of France. Denmark was reposing in the security of peace; no means of defence had been prepared either at Copenhagen or on the island of Zeeland, and as the whole Danish army was on the continent it was impossible to foresee any attack on this island. An English agent * presents himself and without opening any negotiation, without taking the trouble to justify his mission, without giving any alternative, signifies to the Danish Government an order to hand over the Danish fleet to the admiral in command of the English expedition, and on these demands being refused, threatens to burn down Copenhagen. ** So insolent an ultimatum could not be accepted. Accordingly, on September 2nd, 1807, a day of sinister memory, there begins, without any other formality, the bombardment of the Danish capital, which lasted with horrible intensity for three days. A great part of the city was reduced to ashes, and on the 7th, the governor capitulated to avoid its entire destruction. The Crown Prince, who was away from his capital, had sent orders that the fleet was to be burned, but these orders had never reached their destination. More than sixty vessels, frigates, brigs, and other ships, † together with the entire naval munitions, fell into the hands of the English, who destroyed or burned whatever they could not carry away. The general feeling

* Mr. Jackson, former *Chargé d'affaires* in Paris, before Lord Whitworth's embassy.—R. H. S.

** Mr. Jackson's demand was that the fort of Kronenburg, the port of Copenhagen, and the Danish fleet should be handed over *on trust*, to England, to prevent them falling into the hands of the French. De Méneval misrepresents the matter.—R. H. S.

† Incorrect. There were taken sixteen line-vessels, and twenty brigs and frigates. Only two vessels were destroyed in the docks.—R. H. S.

in Europe was one of indignant reprobation of this act of savage violence. The English Ministry replied to the vehement attacks, which were made on it on this occasion in Parliament, by declaring that the revelations of secret engagements entered upon at Tilsitt by the two Emperors, had made it necessary to order the Copenhagen expedition, but it was unable to furnish any proof of the truth of these allegations. Suspicions have attached in this matter to M. de Talleyrand's friends. Although these suspicions were never proved to be well-founded, I must say that the Emperor had occasion to find out that breaches of confidence had been committed before that time under M. de Talleyrand's Ministry, and that important documents taken from the Foreign Office had been communicated to foreign powers. An act of treachery of this kind was the reason of the dismissal and banishment of a former head of the secretary's office in this ministry, whom Napoleon did not allow to return to France until long after.

The triumphs of Napoleon and of our armies were counterbalanced by a misfortune which came upon the imperial family in May, 1807. The death of the Crown Prince of Holland overthrew the hopes and the projects which were staked on this child's head, and the realization of which, if he had lived, might perhaps have prevented the Emperor's second marriage with a foreign princess. Napoleon was much attached to this nephew, the son of his adopted daughter. In the summer months which the Emperor was able to spend at St. Cloud, this child used sometimes to be brought under the windows of his cabinet, which opened out

on the parterre. When Napoleon saw him he used to go and kiss him. I used sometimes to see him carrying the child in his arms as he came in to resume some work in which he had been interrupted. Napoleon-Charles—such was the child's name—was not yet five years old, when he was suddenly snatched from his mother's arms—leaving her, for some time, demented with sorrow. Napoleon, greatly grieved by this loss, sent his sister Caroline to comfort the unhappy parents, who had retired to the Palace of Loo, in Holland. Queen Hortense left the kingdom on this occasion and went to the springs in the Pyrenees. King Louis accompanied her, wishing to try the effect of these waters on his health, which time and the damp climate of Holland had considerably affected. He spent the months of June and July there. Croup, of which the young prince died, was at that time little known. Napoleon offered a prize of twelve thousand francs to the author of the best essay on the means to prevent and cure this cruel disease, so sudden in its attacks, and so rapid in its progress. It has been noticed that it was on the same date, May 6th, fourteen years later, that the Emperor was by death reunited to the young nephew whom he had thought of appointing his heir.

The deposition of Selim, and this monarch's tragic death, which shortly followed, were another misfortune. If this prince, who was worthy of a better fate, had lived, the treaty of Bucharest, which was so fatal to us in 1812, would doubtless never have been concluded.

On July 9th, 1807, after an exchange of the ratifications of the treaties which had been signed the

day before, Napoleon, wearing the grand cordon of the Russian Order of Saint Andrew, proceeded to the Emperor of Russia, who received him at the head of his guard, wearing the grand cordon of the Legion of Honour. Napoleon had the soldier of the Russian imperial guard who had most distinguished himself, presented to him, and handed him the golden eagle of the Legion of Honour as a proof of his esteem for the Russian guardsman. He also presented his portrait to General Platow, hetman of the Cossacks.

After three hours' conversation Napoleon accompanied Alexander to the bank of the Niemen, where the Czar embarked. The two sovereigns separated after the most affectionate leave-taking. The King of Prussia, after an exchange of purely formal visits, took leave of the Emperor Napoleon and proceeded to Memel. Napoleon, on his side, set out at once for Kœnigsberg.

The Emperors of Russia and France had spent twenty days at Tilsitt. Their residences in this city were quite close to each other, and in the same street. During all this time Napoleon and Alexander showed the greatest friendship for each other. Who would not then have seen in their intimacy a solid guarantee for the peace of Europe? It is necessary to believe that Alexander's professions of friendship were sincere at the time.

Napoleon halted one day in Kœnigsberg and settled the dates on which the Prussian provinces still occupied by the French troops should be evacuated, assigning to each army corps the place which it should occupy.

The Emperor sent General Savary direct to St. Petersburg from Kœnigsberg. The mission of this

general—who had received instructions both concise and broad, but which had no official character—had for its object the keeping of the Emperor Alexander in the frame of mind which had dictated the treaty of Tilsitt, and the hurrying on of the execution of the various stipulations of the treaties; he was also to superintend the choice and speedy departure of a Russian ambassador to Paris, and finally to reside in St. Petersburg until further orders.

Napoleon then proceeded to Dresden, where he spent three days. He received sincere proofs of gratitude and attachment from the worthy King of Saxony. He settled with Labouillerie, general paymaster to the Great Army, whom he appointed treasurer of the extraordinary domain, all matters connected with the levies on Prussia and the conquered provinces which amounted altogether to more than six hundred millions of francs.

Napoleon returned to St. Cloud with all speed, and without stopping on the way. He arrived there on July 27th, at five o'clock in the morning. He dined with his family, the Archchancellor Cambacérès being present. In the evening he saw the ministers and on the morrow he received the congratulations of the great corporations of State.

The Emperor's return, after an absence of ten months, the longest he had ever made, was hailed with universal satisfaction. The prosperity enjoyed by all classes evoked a feeling of gratitude and warm sympathy for the man who had just crowned the most unheard-of successes with the most glorious peace. The hope that this peace would be durable filled every heart with gladness. Paris was delighted, and a

general illumination was spontaneously improvised on the very evening of the Emperor's arrival.

Napoleon's first care was to develop the prosperity of the country at home and to do everything necessary to strengthen its security, a security which had not been in the least disturbed during his long absence from home. He then turned his attention to foreign affairs, and sought the best means for inducing the European powers, including Austria, to declare against England,—the realization, in short, of the advantages which he had looked for from the treaty of Tilsitt.

Napoleon proceeded also with the organization of the kingdom of Westphalia, which had been created by this treaty in favour of Jérôme Bonaparte. This kingdom had been put together out of the Electorate of Hesse-Cassel, joined to the Duchy of Brunswick and other provinces in Germany which had been ceded by Prussia. Hanover also became an integral part of the kingdom of Westphalia in 1810. Marshal Mortier had been commissioned to take possession of these various States.

There was, amongst other rich artistic collections at Cassel, a fine picture gallery; and some of the finest pictures were sent to Paris. Two of these, of the greatest value—the best works of Paul Potter—were offered to the Empress Josephine, who had them placed in her gallery at La Malmaison. One was "The Farm at Amsterdam," which is more generally known by a vulgar name, and the other was "Men Chased by Animals." I remember seeing these pictures there. They were admired by all connoisseurs, and used to be covered over with green curtains to protect them. When the Emperor looked at them, he seemed to

regret that the Empress had accepted them. He used to say that it was robbing the Museum. He would have taken more pleasure in them at the Museum, because the greatest pleasure that he could afford himself was to enrich France with all the masterpieces which he gained by his victories.

Napoleon gave to the new Kingdom of Westphalia a constitution the provisions of which are an answer to the reproach that has been cast upon him of being the defender of privileges and the restorer of absolute power. This constitution, like that of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and like the constitution of Bayonne, which were drawn up later, consecrated the abolition of serfdom, the equality of all men before the law, the publicity of trials and the eligibility of all citizens without distinction to fill public offices. Already, as First Consul, he had given a proof of his vigilance for the rights of the people, by causing a special clause to be inserted into the deed by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, guaranteeing that the inhabitants of this colony should be protected in their liberties, their possessions, and religion. Napoleon sent French commissioners to the new Kingdom of Westphalia, charged with the organization of the various government departments, and to form a regency council pending the king's arrival. The marriage of Jérôme, Napoleon's brother, with the daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, was the consequence of the foundation of this new throne.

The interview between the future spouses took place at the castle of Raincy, near Paris. Prince Jérôme, bright, witty, and fond of pleasure, was not yet twenty-three years of age. Princess Catherine was one year

older. This union, formed by cold political calculations, was soon strengthened by the mutual affection which sprung up between husband and wife. Catherine of Wurtemberg, whose destiny it was to give an example of conjugal fidelity and constancy under adversity, during a period when so many reputations, till then considered above reproach, went to the wall, was a beautiful and interesting princess. From the first moment she won the sympathies of her new family, and the Emperor embraced her affectionately directly he saw her. The civil marriage was performed with great pomp in the Diana gallery, at the Tuileries Palace, and the Prince-Primate gave the nuptial blessing to the young couple in the chapel of the same palace on the following day. There was a reception at court that day, but the bad weather spoiled the illuminations and prevented the firework display.

The King and Queen of Westphalia spent three months in Paris, whilst the regency council, composed of the three councillors of State,—Siméon Beugnot and Jollivet and General Lagrange—was organizing the government of the kingdom in the sovereign's name and establishing his authority. Initiated to the science of government by the Emperor, King Jérôme had frequent conversations with his brother, and was in constant correspondence with the regency council. A week after the departure of the Emperor for Italy, the King and Queen of Westphalia left Paris to enter upon their States. They were received all along their route with the enthusiastic welcome which was everywhere accorded to the name which they bore. They spent a week at Stuttgart, where the King of Wurtemberg did all in his power to

treat his daughter and her husband with respect and honour. The week passed in unending banquets and fêtes. What a change seven years later! The old king seemed then to want to make up for the marks of respect which, in 1807, he had shown, through his guests, to the generous sovereign to whom he owed his royal crown; but Napoleon, in 1814, was no longer anything more in his eyes than a vanquished enemy, whom he had no longer any need to treat with consideration. The change of times can alone explain such changes of conduct and these things are amongst the contemptible features of human nature.

After Napoleon's return from Tilsitt, an important change was made in the Ministry. Prince de Bénévent, who, dissatisfied with the post of Grand Chamberlain, coveted a salary equal to that of the two ex-consuls, was given the choice between the dignity of Vice-Grand Elector and of Secretary of Foreign Affairs. M. de Talleyrand preferred to resign his portfolio, but he considered, and not without reason, that his leaving the Ministry was the beginning of his disgrace. The Emperor, without having material proofs of his minister's infidelity, felt that he could not continue to trust him. Napoleon accordingly thought that it would be more advisable to keep Prince de Bénévent at hand, and only to take advantage of his services as occasion might warrant. M. de Champagny, whom the Emperor had employed in certain negotiations, whose honesty he appreciated, and who seemed to him endowed with the special capacities that were wanted, seemed to him the right man to manage the Foreign Office, under his own direction. It is to be regretted that Napoleon did not remove Talleyrand from

public affairs altogether, at the time when he removed the portfolio of the Foreign Office from his hands; for the relations which this minister had formed with certain foreign statesmen, and the way in which he had managed to ingratiate himself with certain sovereigns, gave him powerful resources of influence which he was able to use in a fatal manner against the Emperor.

M. de Champagny gave up the Ministry of the Interior to M. Cretet, who was governor of the Bank of France and who was replaced by Jaubert, the councillor of State. General Clarke replaced Marshal Berthier at the War Office—the Marshal being raised to the dignity of Vice-Constable, whilst retaining his post as Major-general of the Great Army.

M. Portalis, one of the principal writers of the civil code, was succeeded after his death, which occurred in this same month, at the Ministry of Public Worship, by M. Bigot-Préameneu, a learned lawyer, who, like his predecessor, had worked on the civil code.

The Tribunate was suppressed by a senatus consultum of August, 1807. This institution had not fulfilled its object, even at the time when it was created. It was a wheel in the governmental machine, which experience had proved to be useless and even disadvantageous. The Tribunate was composed, for the most part, of very capable men, whom a new government could not ignore. The danger lay in the fact that these men, loving to shine by eloquence, and being steeped in the ideas which they had advocated during the Republic, possessed a public tribune from which to preach and maintain the same doctrines. These men brought into their debates, in spite of the fact that nine-tenths

of them could not be suspected of ill-will or of hostility against the authorities, a spirit of opposition and an instinct of distrust, which prompted them to reject measures of generally acknowledged public utility—amongst others the so anxiously expected provisions of the civil code. The modifications which the Tribunate had undergone, a creation incompatible with the idea of stability, did not remedy the fatal objection to the institution as an institution. Its suppression was necessary, and incontestably simplified the elaboration and making of laws.* The nation, tired of chatterings and Utopian ideas, had one wish alone—to rest from its agitations in the institutions which it expected from the man in whom its trust had been placed. It saw with displeasure the opposition which was raised against him, and applauded this change in the constitution. Speculative minds have asserted that Napoleon only suppressed the Tribunate, because he wished to rid himself of an inconvenient censor, and because he hated any publicity of discussion. Others, more impartial, have found that, on the contrary, by this measure the Legislative Body was restored to the full exercise of its powers, and that the new method of discussion which was adopted guaranteed better legislation, by doing away with those parliamentary quarrels which kept alive an agitation which was fatal to the steady progress of the government. The examination of the projected laws was as a matter of fact delegated to committees chosen from the Legislative Body, and including its most experienced members. The Council of State drew up the draft bills and

* It is said that Napoleon went one morning to the Tribunate Session-room, locked the door of this room, and put the key in his pocket.

discussed them with the committees. In case of disagreement the sections of the Council of State, and the committees of the Legislative Body used to meet under the presidence of the Archchancellor or of the Archtreasurer, to come to an understanding. The Speaker for the Council of State expounded the reasons of the law to the Legislative Body. The president of the Parliamentary committee was next heard. When the matter had been sufficiently discussed a vote was taken. If the committee of the Legislature did not consider the proposed law acceptable, each of the members of the committee was free to explain his objections before the Chamber. The Legislature was accordingly vested with the necessary authority, and independence, and the examination of the bills remained entrusted to the pick of its members.

An act which is worthy of mention is the reorganization of the Audit Office. This important measure, which followed closely upon the suppression of the Tribunate, has been praised as an act of wise government, the budget committee having been admitted to be insufficient. But even the best things are open to criticism, and fault has been found with the fact that the annual balance-sheet submitted to the Sovereign was not made public, and that only the budgets of communes possessing an income of over ten thousand francs a year were audited. The first point was rectified by a subsequent order, by the terms of which the report of the Audit Office had to be annexed to the accounts laid before the Legislature each year. It was in the government's interest to develop this system of public book-keeping as much as possible, and the reasons for finding fault with the institution

of the Audit-Office were bound to disappear. Experience, and the restoration of peace, would have brought with them reforms in turn, as well as the improvement of many other services, for which time was lacking. As Napoleon himself used often to say: "Time is the great master of all things."

M. Barbé-Marbois, from whom the Emperor had been forced to withdraw the portfolio of the Public Treasury, in 1806, received by his nomination to the presidency of the Audit-Office, a fresh proof of Napoleon's appreciation of his past services, very different conduct from that of people who, in the day of adversity, have forgotten the injuries they committed against the man who had put a stop to their exile or their proscription, only to remember the disgrace, too often fully merited, which had befallen them later.

One of the principal reasons which had induced Napoleon to sign the peace of Tilsitt was the necessity of securing fresh means for excluding England from the Continent. With this object in view he exerted all the forces of his intelligence, and began by weighing with all his influence on Spain to obtain from this degenerate power an increase of effort against the common enemy. He exacted in consequence the co-operation of the Spanish Government in forcing Portugal to accept and carry out the continental system. The Emperor on his side had summoned the Lisbon Cabinet to close the ports of Portugal against the English, to seize upon English subjects and merchandise, and to declare war against England. The Portuguese Government had not heeded these behests. A secret understanding, which the English Government did not conceal in Parliament, existed between England

and Portugal, and tended to the evasion by the latter of the decrees of Berlin. Napoleon decided in consequence to fight this country. He assembled an army of twenty-five thousand French soldiers, under the command of General Junto near Bayonne, and ordered them to invade Portugal. The Emperor occupied himself in conjunction with the Minister of Marine (Decrés), in preparing small maritime expeditions, with the object of ruining British trade and shipping in the waters of the island of France, of the Antillas, and on the coasts of Africa. He applied his indefatigable activity to increasing the number of naval constructions, to the creation of new maritime establishments, and, in one word, to every development of the resources of the French navy. His attention was at the same time directed to the best means for providing for the needs of the Treasury by admitting the finances of the State to share in the profits of the war indemnities. This same zeal for the public good extended itself likewise to public works, to the protection required by commerce and industry, to the reform of the magistracy, to the improvement of the positions of parish priests, to the advancement of science, art, and literature. The feast of Saint Napoleon was celebrated with general enthusiasm. The peace of Tilsitt, and the hope that it would be followed by peace at sea, opened every heart to confidence. On the morrow, August 16th, Napoleon opened the session of the Legislative Body with pomp, which was further increased by the presence of an immense concourse of people. In a speech, delivered in a firm and sonorous voice, which thrilled the Assembly, Napoleon related what he had done for the greatness and happiness of France, and described the plans which

he was meditating for the perfecting of our institutions. This solemn session was terminated by a statement of the magnificent situation of the French Empire.

The senatus consultum, announced one year previously, which created hereditary nobility, issued from this general state of prosperity. The creation of hereditary titles was the natural sequence of the foundation of the Empire, and the creation of the principalities which had been conferred in 1806. On March 1st, 1807 there had been registered at the Senate two statutes, one providing for the creation of titles of princes, dukes, counts, barons, and knights; the other establishing the regulation of the institution and composition of settled estates. The nobility founded by Napoleon was no more in opposition to the principles of equality than the institution of the Legion of Honour. That is what distinguished it from the old nobility, which had been a privileged and feudal aristocracy. The new nobility was injured by what was remembered of the old. The imperial nobility would have needed, before being judged, to have undergone the developments which time would have brought with it. It was the fruit of an idea of organization, which, as Napoleon used to say, would have characterized the century. The old aristocracy formed an association outside the people which, separated from it by almost insurmountable barriers, was naturally hostile towards it. In creating a new nobility, open to merit of every kind, Napoleon counterpoised our old close aristocracy and prepared its transformation. In the Emperor's mind the imperial nobility restored the equality which had been proscribed by the old nobility. Napoleon wished to realize three importants objects: The amalgamation

of old France with the new France; the reconciliation of France with Europe; and the effacement in Europe of the vestiges of feudality, by attaching the idea of nobility to services rendered to the State. The superiority which the old nobility arrogated to itself would have been effaced by its fusion with the new. The Princess de Beauvau, whose merits and attachment the Emperor highly esteemed, hearing that her eldest son had been created a baron, could only bring herself by force to recognize a favour in this gift of a title. She ignored that her son would have recovered, in time, the title to which he had a right. The members of the ancient nobility, bearing names recommended by ancient services, or remarkably illustrious, would have resumed the titles they had formerly borne, after the peace and under conditions which would have made of the two nobilities, one historical nobility.

The Emperor had distributed, on June 30th and September 23rd, sums of from two hundred thousand to one million francs to each of nine marshals, sums of one hundred thousand francs to each of thirty-four generals—in one word, revenues exceeding a total of fifteen hundred thousand francs. These cash sums did not cost the treasury one halfpenny, for they were taken from the war indemnities levied on the enemy, and paid into a special army treasury. The endowments consisted in domains which Napoleon had reserved to himself in Poland, Hanover, Westphalia, Holland, and Italy. The Archchancellor and the Archtreasurer, several ministers and other civil functionaries, had a share, in a given proportion, in these liberalities. I am only speaking of those who had a first share in these gifts, before and after the Emperor's fête. For,

in proportion as victory put these riches into Napoleon's hands, new sums of money and new endowments were used as rewards for old and new services, both military and civil. Nor were the foreigners who had assisted in our victories forgotten. The total resources supplied by conquest composed the extraordinary domain, and this domain was exclusively used for rewarding services rendered to France, and Napoleon always abstained from applying any part of it to his personal use.

The Emperor always wanted me to get married. He was constantly speaking to me on this subject. He was constantly saying: "Well, when are we going to get married?" I had had time to think the matter over. But I was so jealous of my independence that I did not want the Emperor or the Empress to interfere in my marriage. It was only later that I determined to face this great problem, which was solved to my entire satisfaction. I selected my wife from an honourable family* and in making my choice was not influenced by anybody else. I did not regret what I had done, for the future which opened before us was sufficiently bright to satisfy all our ambitions. The Emperor, when freedom from worry gave the reins to his benevolence, had more than once said to me: "You have had the fortune to rise with me; I must make your fortune. Peace will at last come to enable me to settle my accounts. You will lose nothing by waiting." I quote these words, which penetrated into my heart too deeply for me to forget them. He put that and other matters off till the period which he so earnestly hoped for. After his second abdication, in

*Her name was Mlle. de Montvernot.

1815, the Emperor expressed his regret to me at not having been able to keep his promises.

Napoleon spent the last days of September, the whole of October, and half the month of November at Fontainebleau. He had given orders, two years previously, for great improvements in this sumptuous residence, and he had considerably added to the splendid furniture of the palace. He received many foreigners and German princes there. Diplomatic introductions took place here, and the Court at Fontainebleau was a very brilliant one. Hunting, theatrical performances of the masterpieces of the French stage, in which Talma and our principal actors took part, were a diversion from the serious business with which the Emperor was taken up.

England's answer to the proposals of France and Russia, and to Russia's offer of acting as mediator, had been the bombardment of Copenhagen. Portugal, who was bound to England by her sympathies and interests, had evaded all co-operation in the efficacious measures adopted by the naval powers against the excesses of English tyranny. The Lisbon Cabinet, enslaved by the London Cabinet, maintained an attitude of hidden hostility in face of our claims. The Emperor decided to punish this perfidy and to strike a new blow against England by occupying Portugal. A convention was signed on October 27th, at Fontainebleau, between General Duroc and M. Izquierdo, a Spanish gentleman who was engaged in the study of natural history in Paris, and who was the devoted agent of the Prince de la Paix. The object of this convention was to settle the basis of the occupation of Portugal by an army of twenty-five thousand men,

to which was to be joined a Spanish army of the same force. General Junot, commanding the observation corps which was assembled at Bayonne, received orders to cross the frontier, and to march upon Lisbon by the military route agreed upon with the Spanish Government. The Emperor, at the same time gave orders for the formation of a second army, and entrusted its command to General Dupont, whose military talents he had had reason to appreciate during the 1805 campaign. This second army had the same destination as the first, and was to enter Spain to assist it, in case the English joined the Portuguese.

The same plenipotentiaries signed a treaty which divided Portugal into three parts, the first of which was given to the King of Etruria in exchange for Tuscany. The second was to form a principality in favour of the Prince de la Paix, who was pleased at the prospect of having an assured independence in case events forced him to cease his rule in Spain. As to the third part, it was kept in reserve for the purposes of future exchange, or to be bestowed in way of recompense. The reversion of these territories was reserved, in default of legitimate heirs, to the King of Spain, whom the Emperor undertook to have acknowledged as the Emperor of the Two Americas, as soon as the general peace should have been effected.

Two days later a treaty was signed with the envoy from Denmark, also at Fontainebleau. The Crown Prince of Denmark, profoundly incensed by the odious conduct of the English Ministry, and by the barbarous aggression of which his people had been the victims, had rejected all the proposals of England, answering them with a declaration of war, after having denounced

the Copenhagen outrage to the whole of Europe. This prince had taken just reprisals by arresting all English subjects, by confiscating their property, by ordering all money due to them to be sequestrated, and by forbidding all communication with England under pain of death. He made common cause with France, on whose support he could rely, and with Russia, whose alliance offered less guarantee of sincerity. Napoleon took into his service the Danish sailors who had been thrown out of work by the capture or destruction of the ships on which they had been engaged.

It was during the last fortnight of his stay at Fontainebleau that the Emperor received a letter dated from the Escurial—October 29th, 1807, in which King Charles IV. informed him of the discovery of a conspiracy against his throne and the Queen's life,—a conspiracy at the head of which was the Prince of the Asturias, the eldest son of the Spanish monarch. The Emperor, without placing faith in this serious accusation, saw in the circumstance another proof of the deep misunderstanding which separated the sovereigns' favourite and the heir to the Spanish crown. On the other hand, Napoleon had received a letter, transmitted by M. de Beauharnais, our ambassador in Madrid, some days before the King of Spain's letter. This letter came from the Prince of the Asturias, who wrote to the Emperor, without his father's knowledge, to implore his protection against the enemies who had decided upon his ruin, and to ask him for the hand of one of the princesses of his family. These letters brought back before Napoleon's mind the thoughts concerning Spain which he had long been meditating.

He had long and frequent conversations on this subject with the Prince de Bénévent, who, seeking to penetrate the Emperor's secret thoughts, had skilfully seized upon this opportunity of rendering himself useful. Talleyrand, as a matter of fact, did obtain the favour of being allowed to replace Prince Eugene as Archchancellor of State, during his absence. This title conferred upon Prince Eugene a dignity without diplomatic functions. M. de Talleyrand expected to derive more serious advantages from his honorary title. In the course of confidential conversations with Napoleon, conversations in which he chiefly played the part of listener, he hinted the advice, with all the semblances of a studied reserve, that the Emperor should take advantage of the misunderstandings which divided the Court of Spain, to change the dynasty which would never be a useful ally against England, and which, under circumstances which could not fail to arise, would on the contrary favour this power to our disadvantage. As an alternative to this extreme measure, he proposed that a surrender of territory should be obtained from Spain, to the extent of making her dependent upon us. I was present at several of these conversations, which used frequently to be held in the Emperor's work-room. Napoleon took his time to reflect on this serious matter, before being able to come to any decision himself. Events had to be allowed to ripen with time. He did not answer the letter of the Prince of the Asturias, considering it as an attack on the authority of the head of the royal family. He had a declaration made to Prince de Masserano, at that time Spanish ambassador to France, that it did not suit him to interfere in the domestic

affairs of the Spanish sovereign. He answered King Charles, advising him to exercise indulgence and moderation, and made his preparations for his journey to Italy, without having expressed himself in any pronounced way, and leaving the whole matter in suspense. During his stay at Fontainebleau, the Emperor had granted an audience to Madame de Bonchamp, the widow of the Vendéen general of that name, who, dragged into the revolutionary war by a feeling of honour, used to say that he aimed after no human glory, because civil wars can never confer it. His generous conduct won him the esteem of men of all parties. With his dying breath he had saved the lives of six thousand patriots, whose death was being clamoured for by the Vendéens. Napoleon, anxious to honour the memory of this distinguished warrior, received his widow with kindness, and promised to endow her daughter, a child of twelve or thirteen, whom she presented to him. He had rather a long conversation with Madame de Bonchamp, and heard with interest that she herself had been saved from a death-sentence by a *conventionnel*, a man called Lofficial, whose name Napoleon heard then for the first time. Lofficial, after having the sentence which condemned Madame de Bonchamp as the widow of a Vendéen general to death, respited, had obtained an amnesty in which her name was included by his care. Napoleon did not limit his interest towards Madame de Bonchamp to sterile expressions of favour, and granted her a pension of six thousand francs.

Towards the same period, the Emperor had appointed General Ordener to the post of first equerry to the Empress. He was a loyal soldier, and an honourable

man, but was little accustomed to the ways of the court. This post was equivalent to that of knight of honour, which at that time did not exist. Napoleon had noticed that the ladies and gentlemen in attendance on the Empress put on somewhat forced airs of aristocracy. He had been informed that on a reception day, when several persons belonging to the noble faubourg had been presented to the Empress, her lady-in-waiting had said: "We have received good company to-day." In appointing General Ordener, the Emperor wished to reward and honour the services of a brave officer, and at the same time to give the Empress's household a lesson. He allowed their vexation at his choice to play itself out in certain sarcastic remarks without appearing to notice them.

When the marriage of Napoleon to the Arch-duchess Marie Louise was decided upon, General Ordener was replaced as first equerry by Prince Aldobrandi Borghése. The General was given the governorship of the palace of Compiègne for his retired service. Count Claude Beauharnais, father of the Grand-duchess of Baden, became knight of honour to the new empress.

On November 15th, the Emperor left Fontainebleau for a tour in Italy. A fully justified distrust of Austria's political feelings towards him, a desire to visit the Venetians and other inhabitants of Italy, and to bind them more closely to his political system, and to confer with his brothers Joseph and Lucien—such were the chief reasons of his journey. Whilst crossing Mount Cenis, Napoleon was overtaken, when on foot, by a storm which put his life in danger. He was fortunate enough to reach a cave in which he took

refuge. This cave appeared to him, as he afterwards related, "a palace of diamonds."

Brilliant fêtes were held in Milan and in Venice in honour of the Emperor, and the Court of Bavaria was present. During his stay in Milan the Emperor created Prince Eugene Prince of Venice, and conferred upon him the succession to the throne of Italy in default of male issue to himself. He informed himself on the exact signification of the title of heir-presumptive, and himself looked up the exact meaning of this word in the Academy Dictionary. The eldest daughter of Prince Eugene was created Princess of Bologna, with a rich endowment. During the sitting of the three corporations, the Possidenti, the Dotti, and the Commercianti, at which the adoption of Prince Eugene was declared, Napoleon was seen to inform the Viceroy that the applause that burst forth on this occasion was addressed to him, telling him to acknowledge it with a bow. Melzi d'Eril, chancellor of the Kingdom of Italy, was created Duke of Lodi, and richly endowed. During Napoleon's journey at this time, the Queen of Etruria came to Milan to present her son, whose guardian she was, to the Emperor. She left Tuscany, which had just been united to the Empire, after the death of the king her husband.

New edicts from the British Government having given an indefinite extension to the maritime blockade, and having subjected all ships belonging to neutral powers to the obligation to put into port in England and to pay duty on their cargoes under pain of confiscation, the Emperor retorted on this piratical legislation with a decree issued at Milan, which declared that any ship which allowed herself to be visited by an English

vessel, or which should submit to a voyage to England, or paid any duty whatever to the English should be considered denationalized. After a short stay at Milan, Napoleon went to visit Venice. The population received him with enthusiasm, and splendid fêtes were given in his honour, in which regattas and gondola races naturally played the principal part. The grand canal was covered with boats decorated with the greatest taste, transformed into constructions representing the houses, temples, kiosks, and cottages of different countries, and manned with gondoliers dressed in appropriate costumes. There was not a Venetian noble who did not spend at least a year's income on these fêtes.

Joseph, King of Naples, came to see the Emperor at Venice, and spent six days with him. He accompanied Napoleon when he went to visit the port, the batteries, and the various defence works. The Emperor, in the midst of these fêtes, occupied himself actively with the various improvements which could be introduced into different parts of the government, and with the best means for raising up the Venetians again to the state of prosperity which they had formerly enjoyed. In consequence he increased or improved the civil, military, and maritime establishments of the ancient city of the doges.

Napoleon left Venice to visit the fortified places of the old Venetian State, and stopped at Mantua. King Joseph, who had taken leave of the Emperor, on his way back to his States, received a letter from his brother Lucien, to inform him of his presence in Modena. Two days later, when the Emperor was at Mantua, I received the two following letters:—

"MONSIEUR MÉNEVAL,—In the annexed letter I inform the Emperor of Lucien's arrival. Be good enough to give this letter with your own hands to the Emperor, and to ask him to authorize you to inform Lucien when he can receive him.

"Your well-disposed,
"(Signed) JOSEPH."

"MODENA, DECEMBER 11th, 1807."

This letter contained another letter, couched in the following terms:—

"I beg you, Sir, to hand the enclosed to His Majesty. I am staying at the big inn under the name of secretary to the King of Naples. I beg His Majesty the Emperor to allow you to come and fetch me. The particular feelings of esteem which I have for you will make your selection for this purpose a pleasure to me.

"Your well-disposed,
"(Signed) LUCIEN BONAPARTE."

"MANTUA, DECEMBER 13th, 1807."

After having taken the Emperor's orders I went to fetch Lucien Bonaparte at his inn, towards nine in the evening. I brought him into Napoleon's cabinet, bringing him through a secret entry, as he had said that he did not wish to be seen by anybody. The interview between the two brothers lasted till midnight. On leaving the Emperor, Lucien was deeply affected, and his face was streaming with tears. I conducted him back to his inn, and there I heard that the Emperor had pressed him most strongly to return to France, or to accept a foreign throne, but that the conditions which he imposed wounded him in his

domestic affections and political independence. He bade me carry his farewell to the Emperor. "It may be for ever," he added. Napoleon, finding it impossible to shake his brother's resolution, had given him, nevertheless, full time to consider his proposals. He charged his brothers and his ministers, Talleyrand and Fouché, to renew his remonstrances to Lucien, but was unable to effect any result. Napoleon regretted to be deprived of the co-operation of a man for whose character and rare talents he had the highest respect, but he was unwilling to yield an inch in the matter of what he demanded of him. The promptness with which Lucien rushed to his brother's side when misfortunes came upon Napoleon, prompted only by his brotherly love, is his best eulogy. *

It had been agreed, during this interview between Napoleon and his brother, that Lucien should send his daughter Charlotte, who was thirteen or fourteen years old, to Paris. She was the elder of the two daughters which Lucien had by Catherine Boyer, his first wife. It was proposed that this child should become the wife of the Crown Prince of Spain, in the event of Napoleon's deciding to grant the request which Ferdinand himself had proffered in this connection. Lucien's daughter was placed in the house of the Lady Mother, who treated her with kindness, but whose tastes were not sufficiently in sympathy with those of the young

* A final effort to effect a separation between Lucien and his wife was made by his mother, Madame Laetitia, in 1810, when she wrote to Madame Lucien Bonaparte begging her to consent to a divorce, "which would bring happiness to her husband and children" (See: *Mémoires de Lucien Bonaparte*. Vol. III, p. 155). This effort failed as all the preceding ones had failed, Lucien and his wife preferring exile.—R. H. S.

girl to captivate her entirely. Educated by a step-mother who had disposed her in no friendly manner towards her father's family, Lucien's daughter did not respond to her grandmother's affections, her letters to her parents were full of bitter complaints about her grandmother's avarice, and of sarcastic remarks against her uncles and aunts. These letters were handed to the Emperor, who amused himself with reading them one Sunday in presence of his family, assembled after a family dinner in the drawing-room at St. Cloud. Each member of the family had been made the target of a more or less well-directed satire. After Napoleon had amused himself for a moment with the sight of the vexation caused by the jests of the imprudent young girl on those present, he assumed a graver air, complained about his niece's ingratitude, and decided that she should be immediately sent back to her parents. On the morrow he sent her away from Paris under the care of a person in whom he had confidence, who escorted her back to Italy and placed her in her father's hands. Thus Napoleon's plan of marrying this daughter of his brother Lucien to the Crown Prince of Spain, fell to the ground and was abandoned.

The Emperor returned from Mantua to Milan and spent a week there before returning to Paris. Whilst passing through Alexandria he visited the immense fortification works which he had ordered, and which had transformed this town into the strongest fortified place in Europe. The Austrian and Sardinian Governments destroyed these fortifications after the fall of the Empire, and no trace of them remains at the time at which I am writing.

The Emperor was back in Paris from his tour in Italy on January 1st, 1808. During his stay in that country, and before his journey to Bayonne, there was published the result of the assembly of Israelites which preceded and followed the convocation of the great Sanhédrin. At the time of the 1805 campaign, Napoleon had been struck by the invasions of the Jewish race. He had given attention to the best means of remedying the damage caused in certain provinces, and notably in Alsatia, by the system of usury, which threatened to cast the finest estates in certain districts into the hands of a vile and degraded race. He wished also at the same time to lead the Jews on to the practice of mechanic and liberal professions, and to engage in industries of which honesty approved. To effect these useful reforms, an assembly of the principal Jews of France and Italy had been convoked in Paris, and there were appointed as commissioners of the government at this meeting, MM. Molé, Portalis and Pasquier. The result of this first meeting was the convocation of a great Sanhédrin, an extraordinary superior council, at which formerly state and church matters were decided upon in Jerusalem, and which had never been called together since the days before Jesus Christ. This council *sui generis*, which was held in Paris, in 1807, whilst Napoleon was fighting the Russians in Eastern Prussia, was composed in conformity with historical traditions. It was to formulate doctrinally the proposals discussed at the first meeting. M. Molé, the reporter, in his account of the motives which had decided the imperial government to call the Sanhédrin together, gave a magnificent eulogy of Napoleon. The novelty of such

a spectacle, this resurrection of an authority and of customs dating from the darkest ages, excited very strong curiosity and interest at the time. Although the sittings were held in camera, a number of people managed to be present and the result was awaited with curiosity by the outside world. To the decisions rendered on political, civil and religious questions, which decisions were sanctioned by a decree, the Emperor added special clauses tending to encourage the Jews to engage in agriculture, and to render all illegal trafficking and practices of usury impossible amongst them. The exceptions from the rights common to other citizens which had necessarily to be imposed on the Jews, were limited to a period of ten years. The Emperor's anxiety to settle all these questions won him the gratitude of the enlightened members of the Jewish world. At the same time, the legislation which was the result of this extraordinary assembly did not sufficiently satisfy all the hopes that had been staked upon it, but it was a useful precedent, and time might also bring with it efficacious reforms amongst the Jews, as well as a cessation of their hostilities against the Christians.

A decree, dated March, 1802, had required the Institute to lay before the government, in the Council of State, a general table of the progress and condition of science, literature, and art, from the year 1789 onwards. This report was to have been ready in the month of September, 1803. Extraordinary circumstances, such as the rupture of the Peace of Amiens, the assembling and arming of the Boulogne flotilla, and the wars with Austria and Prussia had prevented the presentation of this important document to the

Emperor. It was only in the months February and March, 1808, that, before his departure for Bayonne, the Emperor was able to listen to this report. The deputation from the class of physical and mathematical sciences was admitted first into his presence, and the Academicians Delambre and Cuvier acted as spokesmen. The Emperor was struck with the eloquence and clear-headedness of M. Cuvier, who spoke for several hours. Making an exception to his rule not to remove savants from their studies, Napoleon appointed M. Cuvier *maître des requêtes* to the Council of State, and entrusted him with an important post in the imperial University. On February 19th, the class of ancient history and literature presented its report, through M. Dacier. A week later it was the turn of the class of literature and belles-lettres, for whom Chénier spoke. This report, in which Chénier displayed both taste and tact, and in which he criticized the powers of contemporary celebrities, who are so easily wounded, with as much impartiality as talent, is a model of the style which has become classical. On March 5th following, the class of Fine Arts completed the table of human knowledge with a report which was presented by M. Lebreton, the secretary to this class. This general review of literature, science, and art which had been brought into existence by Napoleon, showed that human intelligence, far from going back, did not halt in its constant march onward towards progress. Napoleon answered each deputation from the Institute in particular, expressing to the reporters the satisfaction he felt at the results obtained by their researches and labours.

The Spanish correspondence and some fresh letters which the Emperor had received from King Charles IV. during his journey in Italy had made him acquainted with the fresh occurrences of which Madrid had been the scene. The Prince de la Paix, having been informed that conferences were taking place between the councillors of the Prince of the Asturias, Escoïquitz, the Duke de l'Infantado, San Carlos and other personages of the court—with the object of deposing him—had had the papers of the Crown Prince seized. Various documents had been found, including a cipher for secret correspondence, and a draft nomination of the Duke de l'Infantado to the command of New Castile, on which the date had been left blank. It was a matter of no difficulty for the favourite to transform these discoveries into proofs of a premeditated plan of attack against the sovereignty and the person of the king. There was also found amongst the Prince's papers the draft of a letter which he had written to the Emperor Napoleon, in which he had asked for the hand of one of the princesses of Napoleon's family. This application had been through the secret agency of the French ambassador, M. de Beauharnais, the eldest brother of the first husband of the Empress Josephine. This envoy whose well-known straightforwardness and fidelity were such as to keep him at a distance from the favourite Godoï, had all the more willingly consented to transmit this request, that he knew that it would not displease the Emperor, and because he had reasons to hope that, in case the Prince's offer was accepted, the choice of Napoleon might fall on one of his nieces, who were also Josephine's nieces. As a matter of fact Napoleon replied

to his ambassador that he should listen to all that was being said, should show himself friendly disposed, should bind himself by no engagement, but should learn everything that was going on, and keep Paris constantly informed of what he had learned. These were the only recommendations that could be made to our representative at Madrid, on a question in which no definite instructions could be given, seeing that the government had come to no definite decision, and that the solution of this question had perforce to depend on altogether unforeseen events. It was not diplomacy, but the sword, which was going to play the first and only part in this matter.

The discovery of the ill-considered actions of the Crown Prince and his councillors brought about their arrest. But the council of Castile, to which the matter was submitted, refused to condemn the heir to the throne. The prince was exonerated, and his councillors were exiled.

An apparent calm had followed upon these storms. The Prince de la Paix and the Queen, however much a marriage of the Crown Prince, which would place him under an all-powerful protection, might be distasteful to them, thought it good policy to take advantage of Ferdinand's application to the Emperor. It was on this account that they urged the king himself to ask for a wife for his son, from the French imperial family. The Prince of the Asturias, without dignity and without courage, had denounced his friends, and had expressed his repentance for his fault to the Queen and the favourite, humbling himself before them with all the tokens of the most abject submission. Nevertheless, and in spite of this cowardice, which

should have disgusted the pride of the Spanish character, Ferdinand remained the nation's idol, so intense was the hatred against the Prince de la Paix.

This unhappy family, so little worthy of notice, put itself at the mercy of a powerful neighbour, who could accord it neither trust not esteem. It laid bare before his eyes all its turpitudes, its impotence, and an incapacity which rendered its government worthless, and even a source of danger to France. Spain had indeed fallen, under the reign of Charles IV., to the lowest depths of abasement. Her fleet was nil, reduced to less than thirty seaworthy vessels or frigates, manned by crews short in numbers, whose pay was, for the most part, two years in arrears. The arsenals and the storehouses were empty, the colonies were left to themselves, exhausted, poor, and ready to separate from the metropolis by which they had been deserted. The army numbered about fifty thousand men under arms, badly clothed, badly fed, and badly paid. A staff, out of proportion to the numbers of the land and sea forces, battened on the feeble war supply. Taxation was badly levied and badly collected. The treasury was in debt; industry and commerce had practically ceased to exist; agriculture was neglected—abandoned to old routine and ruined by the annual migrations of innumerable flocks of sheep, which their proprietors had the privilege to drive from the North of Spain to the South, and which devastated the immense districts on which they were allowed to pasture. The monarchy was governed by an incapable and weak-minded king, who abandoned the reins of government to the hands of a vain and unprincipled favourite, who was detested by the nation, and who was the lover of a dissolute

queen. The heir-presumptive to the crown was a prince lacking in qualities of heart as well as of intelligence, false, profoundly hypocritical, and the blind enemy of France.

Such was the state of Spain, a country on our frontiers, whose neighbourhood is of such importance to our safety. Her government and her dynasty crawling at Napoleon's feet when they feared his power or his resentment, had wished to join our enemies in 1807, at the time of the rupture of the negotiations which had been opened between France, Russia, and England; at the time of the declaration of war by Prussia. The Prince de la Paix, thinking that Napoleon would be unable to resist this new coalition, which would increase in size at the first reverse he should suffer, had, by a proclamation dated October 3rd, called the Spaniards to arms against an enemy whom he did not name, but who was sufficiently clearly indicated to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding. The victory of Jena had opened the Prince's eyes. He sought, on the one hand, to disavow his proclamation, and on the other, to try and make it believed that it referred to a threatened invasion of the Moors in Andalusia and a landing of the English. In one word he did all that could be done to secure pardon for his imprudent act of bravado. But the Emperor's confidence was destroyed for ever. Napoleon made up his mind from that day to take his precautions against a perfidious ally, who would rise to crush him if ever an opportunity of doing so with impunity should present itself. He demanded that the Spanish Government should send an army of fifteen thousand men to the island of Elba, to serve

as auxiliaries to the French army, and, in case of necessity, to serve as hostages.

The events which had since occurred in Spain had found Napoleon in this state of mind. He did not know what line of action to adopt. Should he ally himself to the Spanish royal house by marriage? Should he seize upon the Spanish provinces on this side of the Ebro, or should he change the Spanish dynasty? In his heart of hearts he inclined towards the last alternative. Without having any fixed plan, the Emperor sent into Southern Spain divisions of French troops assembled under the names of the Gironde and Ocean corps, and divisions of the Eastern and Western Pyrenees. He placed all these corps under the orders of the Grand-duke of Berg, and gave him instructions to advance to Burgos and there to await fresh instructions for his subsequent movements.

The Spaniards at first received the French troops as friends who had come to deliver them from the odious yoke of Godoï and his creatures. Events crowding on, the Grand-duke of Berg had thrown off the mask, and with the corps which, on their entry into Spain, had followed the direction of Lisbon and of Gibraltar, marched upon Madrid. The Spaniards reflected that such a number of troops was not necessary to drive out the Prince de la Paix; the capture by surprise of the fortresses of Barcelona, Pampeluna, and Saint Sebastian, only increased their amazement and their suspicions. Napoleon's silence on his plans, his refusal to publish the Fontainebleau convention, which related to the division of Portugal, began also to fill the Spanish court, which had retired to Aranjuez, with anxiety. Secret preparations for a flight to

America were made, the pretext of these preparations being that they were in view of a journey to Andalusia. The populations of Madrid and Aranjuez began to grow excited at what was happening. The Court, to reassure the public mind, denied any intention of leaving Spain, and published this denial in a proclamation, but all in vain. In the night of March 18th, a revolution broke out in Aranjuez. The maddened mob threw itself upon the house of the Prince de la Paix, broke down the doors of the palace, destroyed the costly furniture in the apartments, and flung the *débris* out of the windows, hunting for the favourite in every recess for the purpose of murdering him. He, escaping the fury of the mob, came forth from the retreat in which he had been able to hide himself from search, after thirty-six hours agony. Recognized by a sentinel, who denounced him, he was handed over to the bodyguards. Protected by them he succeeded in reaching their barracks, pursued by a furious crowd, and wounded by the blows which he received on his way. The Prince of the Asturias, on the prayer of his distracted parents, consented to intercede in favour of his enemy. He desired the pleasure of enjoying Godoï's humiliation, and of casting up in his face, with perfidious joy, the grace which he accorded to the favourite of his family, in return for all the wrong which he had done him.

The King and Queen, terrified by the disaster which had befallen their well-beloved Godoï, feared for a moment for their own safety. Charles IV. declared that he wished to abdicate. By a deed written in haste he resigned to his son a crown which he had long worn without glory, and the people of Aranjuez went to hail with their acclamations their new

king, in the midst of general transports of delight.

Napoleon, hearing of these events in Paris, at once sent M. de Tournon off to Madrid. M. de Tournon was one of his chamberlains and orderlies, and had recently returned from Spain, where he had been charged with a mission. General Savary, whose skill and devotion were appreciated by the Emperor, whenever there was anything difficult to be done was sent off on the morrow with the same destination.

Here arises a difficulty which till now has remained without solution, as often happens in history. A letter addressed by the Emperor to the Grand-duke of Berg, under date of Paris, March 29th, 1808, supposed to have been entrusted to chamberlain Tournon to carry to its destination, has been quoted by numerous writers who have written about the Spanish war and revolution, as though it had reached its destination, although the Grand-duke of Berg never received it. This letter was inserted literally into the Memorial of St. Helena, but cannot have been communicated by the Emperor, who was not in possession of his papers. The despatch of which I am speaking is in contradiction to all the orders and despatches which either preceded or followed it. No trace of it has been found either in the archives of the war-office or of the Foreign Office, or in the private archives at the Louvre. No allusion was made to it in any of the letters which followed it. It may be added that it contains several material irregularities. It is dated from Paris, whereas the Emperor was at St. Cloud, where he stayed from March 22nd, till April 2nd, 1808—the day of his departure for Bayonne—and he always used to date his letters from St. Cloud when he happened to be there. The form of address

which he used in his letters to Murat was not "Sir, the Grand-duke of Berg," but "My cousin". The Emperor did not use the expression "My Minister of Foreign Affairs"—an expression which only dates from the Restoration—but used to say "My Minister of Exterior Relations"—which was the only appellation in use at that time. In spite of these slight anomalies, which may have arisen from unavoidable oversights in the numerous transcriptions of this letter, it has a most authentic character, and can but have been Napoleon's work. * He alone knew how to write on such matters. His style might be imitated, his thoughts might be rendered; but there are details and allusions in this letter which nobody but himself could have known without having been initiated to the ensemble of his vast conception and his most secret thoughts.

How did this letter come to be published? What was the filiation? From whose hands does it proceed? Was the draft taken from the archives of the Louvre in 1814, together with the papers referring to the Duke d'Enghien, and the occurrences in Spain, in which Prince de Bénévent was implicated, and at the time when he got possession of all these documents? Was this despatch neglected by him as of no importance to the object he had in view? or was it saved by chance from the auto-da-fé to which Talleyrand consigned all the papers brought back from the Archives? as was, in so strange a fashion, the First Consul's letter relating to the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien. The most probable hypothesis is that this letter to Murat only existed in the form of a draft, that it was only

* This is also the conclusion of M. Thiers. Compare the long and interesting note on this letter, Book XII.—R. H. S.

one of the hundred plans with which Napoleon's mind was taken up during the laborious elaboration of this most difficult enterprise. The Emperor may have been brought to the ideas which predominate in this letter by the reports which he received from M. de Tournon, who had just travelled through Spain, and had pushed on as far as Andalusia; not that Napoleon would have allowed himself to be influenced by the opinions of his chamberlain, but because M. de Tournon quoted actual facts which he had witnessed, and because anything that so candid and truthful an officer might relate could not be listened to otherwise than with great attention.

All the suppositions that one may indulge in will not, as a matter of fact, supply the key to this enigma of history, and the Emperor's letter to his brother-in-law Murat, in spite of all investigation, remains surrounded with a mystery which the author of the "Memorial of St. Helena" did nothing to dispel. The clearness, the precision of the terms of this letter, the allusion to the attitude to be observed towards General Solano amongst others, disposes, in my opinion, of the suggestion of those who have believed that this document was manufactured after the event. Although I have abstained from reproducing in this work historical pieces which are known to the public, I cannot refrain from publishing here, word for word, this most curious letter, so that the reader may have the leading features of the question under his eyes:—

"PARIS, MARCH 29th, 1808.

"SIR, THE GRAND-DUKE OF BERG,—I fear lest you be deceiving me on the situation in Spain, and lest you be de-

ceiving yourself. Events have been singularly complicated by the affair of March 19th. I remain in a state of great perplexity. Do not imagine that you are attacking a disarmed nation, and that you have only to show your troops in order to reduce Spain to submission. The revolution of March 18th shows that the Spaniards have energy. You have to deal with a young people. It has all the courage, and will have all the enthusiasm, which are to be found in men who have not been worn out by political passions.

"The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. Should they fear for their privileges, and for their existence, they will raise levies in mass against us, which may continue the war for all eternity. I have partisans in Spain, but if I present myself there as a conqueror I shall have no more.

"The Prince de la Paix is hated because he is accused of having surrendered Spain to France. That is the grievance which served Ferdinand's usurpation. The popular party is the weakest.

"The Prince of the Asturias has none of the qualities which are indispensable in the head of a nation, but that does not prevent his being set up as a hero to oppose us. I do not wish any violence to be offered to the persons of this family. It is never a good thing to render oneself odious or to inflame hatred.

"Spain has more than one hundred thousand men under arms, and that is more than is necessary to carry on a war in the interior with success. Divided over several points each division may form the nucleus of a general rising of the monarchy.

"I am placing before you the ensemble of such obstacles as are inevitable. There are others which you yourself will see.

"England will not let this opportunity of increasing our difficulties escape. Each day she is sending *avisos* to the forces which she keeps on the coasts of Portugal and in the Mediterranean, and she is enlisting Sicilians and Portuguese.

"The royal family not having left Spain to go and settle

in the Indies, nothing but a revolution can change the state of affairs in this country. It is perhaps the country in Europe which is least prepared for a revolution. Those who see the monstrous vices of this government, and the state of anarchy which has replaced legal authority, are in the minority; it is the majority who profit by these vices and this state of anarchy.

"In the interests of my empire I can do much good to Spain. What are the best measures to be taken? Shall I go to Madrid? Shall I play the part of grand protector and decide between the father and the son? It seems to me difficult to allow Charles IV. to reign. His government and his favourite are so unpopular that they could not survive three months.

"Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and that is why he is being made king. To place him on the throne would be to play into the hands of the parties who for the last twenty-five years have desired the annihilation of France. A family alliance would be a feeble tie. Queen Elizabeth and other French princesses perished miserably when it was possible to immolate them as the victims of hideous vengeance. I am of opinion that nothing must be hurried on, that it will be a good thing to be guided by the events that will follow. The army corps in position on the Portuguese frontiers should be strengthened, and we should wait....

"I do not approve of Your Highness's plan of seizing on Madrid with such precipitation. The army should be kept at a distance of ten leagues from the capital. You had no reason to be assured that the people and the magistracy would acknowledge Ferdinand without opposition. The Prince de la Paix must have partisans in the public offices. The old king moreover is attached to him by force of habit, and this attachment may produce results. Your entry into Madrid, in frightening the Spanish, has served Ferdinand in a powerful manner. I have ordered Savary to go and see what is going on around the old king. He will confer with

Your Imperial Highness. I shall decide later on on what must be done, in the meanwhile these are the instructions which I think right to give you. You will not engage me to any interview with Ferdinand unless you deem the position of affairs to be such that I must acknowledge him as King of Spain. You will behave with courtesy and consideration towards the King, the Queen, and Prince Godoï. You will insist that the same honours are paid them as formerly, and you will pay them these honours yourself. You will act in such a way that the Spaniards will not be able to suspect what line of action I intend to adopt, and this will be a matter of no difficulty, seeing that I myself am in ignorance on this point.

"You will give the nobility and the clergy to understand that should France interfere in Spain's affairs their privileges and immunities will be respected. You will tell them that the Emperor desires that the political institutions of Spain should be perfected with the object of harmonizing them with European civilization, and to save the country from the rule of favourites .... You will tell the magistrates and townspeople, the people of education, that the political machinery of Spain needs recasting, that she is in want of laws which shall guarantee her citizens against arbitrary rule and the usurpations of the feudal families—of institutions which shall revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will depict to them the state of ease and repose which is enjoyed by France, in spite of the wars in which she has been engaged, the splendour of the religion which owes its re-establishment to the Concordat which I signed with the Pope. You will point out to them the advantages which they would derive from a political regeneration—order and peace at home, respect and power abroad. Such should be the spirit of your writings and of your speeches. Do nothing hastily. I can wait at Bayonne. I can cross the Pyrenees and strengthening myself towards the Portuguese frontier, carry the war in this direction.

"I will attend to your private interests; do not you attend to them yourself.... Portugal will remain at my disposal.... Let no personal plan occupy your attention nor direct your conduct; that would injure me, and injure you still more. You go too fast in your instructions of the 14th. The march which you ordered of General Dupont is too rapid, because of what happened on March 19th, and there must be changes made. You will give orders for new arrangements; you will receive instructions from my Minister of Foreign Affairs. I command that discipline be most rigorously maintained; no pardon for small faults. The inhabitants must be treated with the greatest consideration. The churches and the convents must especially be respected. The army must avoid any encounter either with the Spanish army or with its detachments. Not a percussion cap must be fired on either side. Let Solano get beyond Badajoz; have him watched; give, in person, orders for the marching of my army, so that it may always be at a distance of some leagues from the Spanish troops. All would be lost if war were to break out.

"The destinies of Spain will have to be decided by politics and negotiations; I advise you to avoid any conversation with Solano, or other Spanish generals and governors. You will send me two couriers each day. Should anything serious happen send me orderly officers. You will at once send the chamberlain Tournon, who carries this despatch, back to me, and you will hand him a detailed report. And hereupon I pray God, etc.,

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

In the meanwhile the old sovereigns, who had remained at Aranjuez, were the prey of mortal terrors. Hearing that the Grand-duke of Berg was approaching Madrid they secretly sent their daughter the Queen of Etruria to implore him to protect them. Prince Murat sent them an officer of his staff, M. Bailly de

Monthion, to reassure them, and to suggest to them that they should protest against the violence which had been offered to them, a proposal to which they lent a willing ear. On March 21st, two days after his abdication, Charles IV. signed this protestation and sent it to the Grand-duke of Berg.

Murat sent it on to the Emperor, who approved of what he had done. Several orders, coming one after the other, had enjoined on Murat to push forward with all speed to Madrid. Napoleon's brother-in-law, in consequence, made his entry into the Spanish capital on the 24th, at the head of a part of his army.

On the following day Prince Ferdinand, who had left Aranjuez in a hurry, made haste to make a solemn entry into Madrid as though to take possession of the rights conferred upon him by his adoption by the popular party. He was on horseback, surrounded by his officers, and was enthusiastically received. The diplomatic corps came to present their respects to the new King. The ambassador of France stayed away, Murat having declared to Ferdinand that he could not acknowledge him as King, as he had received no instructions concerning him from the Emperor.

As soon as Napoleon was apprised of these facts he decided that the time for action had come. In various conferences which he had with MM. de Talleyrand and Champagny, the Spanish question, once more brought under discussion, came up. Various opinions were pronounced in the course of these conversations on the alternatives of changing the Spanish dynasty, or of maintaining it in power after taking guarantees for the future. At the last conference, which was held on the eve of his departure, Napoleon did not

express his own opinion on the matter because his mind was not yet made up as to what line of action he should adopt, and because he wished to see with his own eyes. He appeared, in the course of these conversations to be in quest of either strong objections, or of good reasons for strengthening him in the resolution to which he himself inclined. At the same time nothing was decided upon at this meeting, and the Emperor left Paris without having expressed any fixed determination.

Before leaving Paris the Emperor had written to his brother, the King of Holland, to the effect that in case he should decide to change the Spanish dynasty, he had thought of him for the throne of Spain, that this was only a project, but that it was possible, circumstances aiding, that all would be ready in a fortnight, and asked him for a straightforward answer to this question: "If I should create you King of Spain would you accept the throne?" He added that he expected an answer of "Yes," or "No"; that nobody could be taken into his confidence, as a thing ought to be done before it had been thought over, etc. Louis had refused, and Napoleon answered him that in consequence the matter could no longer be considered.

The Emperor arrived at Bayonne on April 14th, after having spent a week at Bordeaux, where his stay was not without profit to the commercial interests of this city. He spent two days at Bayonne, waiting that the Château de Marrac, distant about a league from Bayonne, which he had purchased, should be in a state to receive him and the Empress Josephine, who was to meet him there.

The mission of General Savary, in whom Napoleon had every confidence, was to see the French ambassador to find out all that had happened at Madrid and Aranjuez, to assure himself of the real state of affairs, to see whether King Charles's abdication was genuine, and to ascertain what sort of a man the Prince of the Asturias was, and what degree of confidence he merited. Napoleon made it clear to General Savary that if neither the father nor the son could be trusted, he should make up his mind to dethrone the reigning family.

On his arrival at Madrid, General Savary saw Prince Ferdinand and his private councillors. He found them disposed to go to Bayonne to meet the Emperor, with the idea that so marked an action would render the powerful sovereign who held the fate of Spain in his hand, favourable towards the new king. This journey was accordingly decided upon, and General Savary accompanied the prince.

On arriving at Vittoria, Ferdinand, who had expected to meet the Emperor there, refused to proceed any further, and declared that he would wait for news of Napoleon in that city. Savary, having in vain essayed to get the better of the Spanish prince's obstinacy, proceeded to Bayonne where he arrived some hours before the Emperor. To the searching questions put to him by Napoleon on the character and disposition of Ferdinand, the General answered by expressing his mistrust of the sincerity of the assurances which had been made to him, and declared that in his opinion the prince would be governed by ministers hostile to France.

The Emperor sent General Savary back on the

morrow carrying a letter in which he invited H.R.H. the Prince of the Asturias to come to Bayonne, but in which he made no promises, and in no way pledged himself towards him. During Savary's absence, several Spanish persons of importance, amongst other Urquijo, the former minister, had been to see the prince, and had pointed out to him that it would be a want of dignity and of prudence on his part to cross the frontier, especially considering that the Emperor Napoleon had not acknowledged him. Ferdinand and his counsellors paid no attention to this advice, and the Emperor's letter having dispelled their hesitations, they decided to leave for Bayonne on the morrow.

Just as Ferdinand was about to enter his carriage a mob of armed peasants, who had joined in with the people who filled the prince's house, wanted to prevent his departure. The traces of the carriages were cut, and the mules were led back to the stables. The Duke de l'Infantado, throwing himself into the midst of the crowd, succeeded in calming the rioters, so that the mules could be put to again, and the carriages were allowed to drive off without further hindrance. On approaching Bayonne, the prince, who was beginning to be surprised at seeing nothing of the Emperor, met General Duroc, who had been sent to meet him, and to compliment him on his arrival. Napoleon, on his side, hearing of Ferdinand's arrival at Bayonne, jumped on horseback, and rode off to pay him a first visit. He embraced him, but only addressed him as Royal Highness. On his return to Marrac the Emperor sent a chamberlain to invite the Prince and his suite to dinner at the castle.

The conversations which Napoleon had with Ferdi-

nand, and the persons who had accompanied him, very soon showed him the emptiness and vulgar cunning of this prince's character, the mediocrity of his advisers, and their inability to direct their master. These first discoveries were not of a nature to modify the Emperor's way of thinking. His opinion, accordingly, that the regeneration of Spain under such rulers was an impossiblity, was confirmed. He was disappointed to find that there was not amongst the Prince's suite a single man with whom he could speak on his political views with regard to Spain. It was to Canon Escoïquitz, the most intelligent amongst them, and the adviser who was most in the Prince's confidence, that Napoleon thought fit to open his mind. He accordingly told this priest that the assistance of Spain was indispensable to him to force England to peace, that the deplorable state of the Spanish monarchy was as disastrous to France as to Spain herself, that the scandal of the scenes at the Escurial and at Aranjuez had shown to what a degree the dynasty was degenerated and degraded, and that it was quite unable to drag the monarchy up out of the slough into which it had fallen. This too plain speaking astounded the canon and brought him down from his castles in the air. In answer to his plea in favour of his pupil, Napoleon made even more positive statements.

Ferdinand, to whom Escoïquitz reported this conversation, protested, alleged the inalienable rights of his family, maintained that he was the legitimate king by his father's abdication, and that if Charles IV. wished to withdraw this abdication, it was to him alone that he would surrender the crown.

The presence of the old sovereigns being alone

likely to put an end to this resistance, the Emperor hurried on their arrival as well as that of the Prince de la Paix in Bayonne. The Prince de la Paix had been treated with extreme severity. Murat was obliged to use force to tear him from the hands of those who detained him, and who were firmly resolved that he should die on the scaffold. Napoleon saw Godoï on his arrival, and disguising the disgust with which this person inspired him, had a long conversation with him, which only gave him fresh cause for persevering in his determination to deprive Ferdinand of his crown. He undertook to assure incomes in proportion to their rank to the old King, the Queen, and the Prince de la Paix.*

The Spanish sovereigns arrived at last on April 30th. They were received with the etiquette paid to kings. The Emperor went to receive them on their entry into Bayonne. The Empress, who had arrived at Marrac a few days previously, went to comfort the old queen. There was hand-kissing, according to the Spanish custom. Prince Ferdinand came to bow to his father, but Charles indignantly repelled him, and forbade him to follow him into his apartment. There, their dear friend Godoï was awaiting them, and they had the pleasure of embracing him. He told them about Napoleon's plans, and they had no objections to make.

*I have retained the French appellation of this person throughout the translation, as it is the one by which Manuel, Duke of Alcadia is best known. He was born in Bajadoz on May 12th, 1767, became the Queen's lover at the age of seventeen, and Prime Minister in 1792. He was created Prince of the Peace, in recognition of his services in concluding peace with France, in 1798. In 1801 he was appointed generalissimo of the Spanish army, and in 1807 was vested with absolute power. He resided in Paris from 1830, published his Memoirs in 1836, in eight volumes, and died on October 7th, 1851.—R. H. S.

They came to dinner at Marrac on the following day. The old king, weighted by his infirmities, leant on the Emperor's arm as he was mounting the steps of the castle. Napoleon had said to him: "Lean on me, I have strength enough for both of us."

King Charles's protestation against his abdication had been published in Madrid and was addressed to the junta formed by Ferdinand, before his departure from this city, a junta presided over by his uncle Don Antonio. By the terms of this document Charles addressed a severe letter to his son, reproaching him with his guilty conduct, and summoning him to surrender the crown. Ferdinand answered that although he had received the crown by his father's voluntary abdication, he was ready to resign it on condition that the King should reign in person and that the restitution should take place openly at Madrid before the assembled Cortés. But King Charles, retracting his forced abdication, declared himself sole legitimate king of Spain, and added that in view of his absence from his kingdom, he appointed the Grand-duke of Berg his lieutenant-general, and invested him with all his powers. At the same time orders were given that the Infant Don Antonio, the King's brother, president of the junta, the Infant Don Francis de Paule, and the Queen of Etruria, who had remained in Madrid, should be sent on to Bayonne.

The Spaniards already excited by the scenes which had taken place, were greatly aroused by the departure of the members of the royal family, one after the other. Ferdinand, by means of letters and couriers, who were despatched in disguise from Bayonne, inflamed the excitement of the public and kept it aglow.

These couriers were watched and arrested, and the papers found upon them were conveyed to the Emperor's cabinet. These letters were filled with invectives and curses against the French and Napoleon. They contained false news, were calculated to excite the anger of the people, and represented the Prince of the Asturias as the victim of the most odious treatment. These lying stories, spread broadcast by means of bulletins and manuscript notes, were read with eagerness everywhere. So greatly did they arouse the popular mind that a general insurrection broke out in Madrid on May 2nd. Wounded French soldiers in the hospitals, and soldiers and officers, found alone in the streets, were massacred without pity by a furious and savage mob.

The Emperor heard of this sad occurrence as he was returning to Marrac on horseback. The news was brought by one of the Grand-duke's staff-officers, M. d'Haneucourt, who later on became Master of the Hunt. In a violent passion, the Emperor turned his horse round without a moment's delay, and galloped off to find King Charles, to whom he showed these despatches. The King sent for the Infants, and both he and the Queen spoke to Ferdinand with the extremest severity. The King brandished his stick as though about to strike his son. The Queen was in such a rage that she forgot herself to the point of walking up to her son and making a gesture as though to box his ears. The prince, standing motionless, and with downcast eyes, did not answer a single word. The Emperor put an end to this painful scene by informing the Prince of the Asturias that he was bound only to his father, that he acknowledged Charles alone

as King, and that unless Ferdinand surrendered the crown which he had usurped, with all speed, he would be treated as a rebel. Charles IV. cried out that he did not want a crown which was tarnished, and that he renounced a country in which an ungrateful son had roused every passion against its sovereign. Ferdinand, covered with confusion and vexation, left the room, followed by the small group of courtiers who had waited for him in the outer drawing-room.

After having spent a moment with the old sovereigns, Napoleon left them and returned to Marrac lost in thought, and only emerging from this state of abstraction to utter bitter reflections on the state of degradation into which this family had fallen.

On the same day documents were drawn up which settled the position of the Prince of the Asturias, at the same time as that of the Infants, who were not to return to Spain. The castle of Navarre was given to Prince Ferdinand in fee simple, with an income of one million francs. A pension of four hundred thousand francs was allotted to each of the Infants. The Prince signed, in his own name and that of his family, a renunciation of the crown of Spain and all the rights of succession.

King Charles refusing to accept the crown, whose sole proprietor he was acknowledged to be, he surrendered it to the Emperor to dispose of as he might think fit. He received in compensation the palace and forest of Compiègne, for life, and the castle of Chambord in fee simple, with an income of thirty million reals—seven million five hundred thousand francs—to be paid him from the public Treasury of France.

Such is a plain statement of the facts which brought

about this great catastrophe, freed from particulars which certain historians have added in induction to the principal fact, and which they have explained, not always with justice. I have only related what in the sphere of my duties I saw and learned. It does not behove me to set myself up as the judge of Napoleon's conduct in an enterprise the object of which—as must perforce be admitted—was eminently a national one. If the legality of the means employed did not correspond to the grandeur of the scheme, it remains proved that, in the Bayonne transaction, Napoleon was impelled by the interests of France far more than by any other motive, and that the change of dynasty was only the consequence of, and an accessory to, the system which he wished to establish in Spain.

The forcible act essayed in the peninsula has been explained as caused by a fixed determination on the part of Napoleon to remove the Bourbons from every throne in Europe; but that was only a secondary idea with him; it was rather the state of Spain that awoke his solicitude. Spain, whose prosperity was as important to France as to the country itself, which was the continuation of our soil, was in a state of decay which would inevitably have led to her falling an easy prey to England. The future was not in Napoleon's hands. However much the Spanish Government might at that time be subjected to his wishes, this government had none the less desired to join the coalition on the eve of the battle of Jena. As long as Napoleon should reign, this government would not dare to betray him, but would it be the same with the Emperor's successors? The servile submission of this royal family showed the master of France how foolhardy and dangerous it

would be to rely on such princes. The Spanish Government placed its ships, troops, and feeble resources at Napoleon's disposal at this moment and without hesitation. In spite of certain secret communications with England, suspected by the Emperor, but which had remained without any immediate result, France had not a sufficiently strong motive to declare war with Spain, and to expel the Bourbons by force. This line of action, had it been justifiable by apparent causes, would have been worthier of Napoleon, but he could not adopt it in the absence of any plausible motive, without exciting public reprobation. Louis XIV., acting in a dynastic interest, had been admirably served by Charles II.'s testament. Napoleon, prompted by a national interest, failed; he had no choice of means. He remains exposed to the blame of posterity, which would have absolved him if his work, the defects of which show themselves owing to its want of success, had been able to last and to bring with it the many benefits which would have resulted for France and Spain. This enterprise would have succeeded, as did the War of Succession, if the coalition had not deprived Napoleon of the time and the possibility of applying his strength and his attention to it, by constantly drawing him on to new struggles which removed him from the object in view. The national resistance and antipathy even, would have been overcome in the end; the influence of men enlightened as to the real interests of their country would have prevailed, and the masses would have followed them. The advantages of the constitution of Bayonne, the prosperity which its application would have conferred on the people, the protection which the French alliance would have assured

to our neighbours by the interest we had to render them prosperous and powerful—all these causes together would in time have subjugated the Spaniards. Napoleon can be blamed in this matter neither for precipitation nor for caprice. His plan had been matured and carried out with the necessary slowness and prudence. He had in his favour his omnipotence, the prosperous state of France, Europe at that time pacified, and a close alliance with Russia. The moment seemed favourable; it was neither too late nor too early. Napoleon himself has said that he was forced to seize the opportunity offered to him by fortune to regenerate Spain, to remove her from the clutches of England, and to unite her closely to our system. In doing so, he was, in his opinion, laying one of the fundamental bases of the repose and security of Europe.

The illegality, however, of the means employed was the frequent subject of Napoleon's reflections, and maintained him in a continual state of perplexity. His mind revolted against perfidious conduct, for he had an instinctive loathing for crooked and tortuous ways. He hesitated for a long time between various lines of action. He had thought of a family alliance; but nothing is more precarious than a political marriage. Another plan was to take, in guise of pledges, the Spanish provinces on this side of the Ebro, but that would have deeply offended the inhabitants of these provinces, and would have kept them continually ready to revolt. He was forced to go back to the plan of dethroning the reigning family; the events that crowded on disposed of the Emperor's irresolutions; an outraged father, supplanted by his son, abandoned by his people, urged on by a fear for his own safety, by the neces-

sity of having recourse to the protection of his ally, and by the fear with which the violence of the factions inspired him—a guilty son, vile and nerveless, dominated by evil passions—both came to throw themselves into Napoleon's arms. This combination of extraordinary circumstances, the news of the Madrid insurrection, which had been encouraged by Ferdinand, an insurrection in the course of which Frenchmen had been massacred in the hospitals and in the streets, all these things together urged the Emperor on. When he saw the Spanish princes at his feet, and had gauged their worthlessness and weakness, Napoleon considered himself "an instrument of Providence." The scandalous scenes which he witnessed amongst the members of this family deprived him of all confidence in the stability of an alliance with these princes. The old King refused to return to Spain. Could Napoleon, even if he had been so disposed, force this prince to resume his crown? King Charles's antecedents, his impotence, the aversion which he had provoked through his favourite, made the Emperor see only too clearly that such a restoration was not practicable. Should Ferdinand then have been sent back to Madrid? But that would have meant handing Spain over to England, and to the parties which were hostile to France. Napoleon confirmed his resolution, in consequence, to confide the destinies of the neighbouring kingdom to the hands of a Frenchman. The generous wish to rescue so interesting a nation from the state of decay to which it had been reduced by the government of a degenerate race of kings had as much to do in forming Napoleon's resolutions as the necessity of putting an end to a line of policy, vacillating in the present, and certain to be hostile in the future.

The Emperor sent a pressing invitation, by courier, to King Joseph, to come to Bayonne. * In the interview which he had with his brother at Venice, in 1807, Napoleon had spoken to him of the various chances which might be brought about by the dissensions by which the Spanish reigning house was divided; but without expressing any definite idea on the subject at the time. Napoleon went to meet the King of Naples on his arrival at Bayonne, informed him of the views he entertained concerning him, and urged him to agree to them. He had hoped that Lucien would have accepted the conditions which he wished to impose on him at Mantua. If Lucien had been more docile under his demands, Napoleon would at this time have placed him on the throne of Naples, which was given to Murat, the Grand-duke of Berg. Whilst awaiting the arrival of his brother Joseph, Napoleon occupied himself with providing that the Spanish colonies should remain faithful to their allegiance. With this object in view he had sent out from the various ports of Spain, Portugal, and France a number of light ships, freighted with arms and munitions, and carrying proclamations, to the ports of Southern America. The

* Napoleon wrote to King Joseph as follows: "King Charles, by the treaty which I have concluded with him, cedes me all his rights to the Crown of Spain .... I destine this crown to you. The Kingdom of Naples is not what Spain is, with her eleven million inhabitants, her revennes of more than one hundred and fifty millions and the possession of all the Americas. It is besides a crown which places you in Madrid, a three days' journey from France, and which entirely covers one of her frontiers. In Madrid, you are in France. Naples is at the world's end. I therefore desire that immediately on receiving this letter, yon leave the regency to whom you choose, and the command of the troops to Marshal Jonrdan, and start to proceed to Bayonne by the quickest route from Turin, Mount Cenis, and Lyons .... Keep this matter, moreover, secret, etc."—R. H. S.

Emperor also ordered reports on the state of the Spanish finances, army, and navy, to be laid before him, and gave orders that a subsidy of twenty-five millions, taken from the funds of the extraordinary domain, should be advanced to the Spanish treasury to meet the most pressing needs of the country. And finally, he ordered the dispersion of the Spanish troops in the peninsula, and the distribution of the French soldiers over various parts of the territory, at the points where they were most needed, to be in readiness to check the first attempts at insurrection.

Napoleon had understood that a change of dynasty could not be effected without the intervention, in some form, of the Spanish nation, and that is the reason why he desired to convoke to Bayonne an assembly of leading men in the various classes of the State. He introduced his brother Joseph to the most influential men, who all offered him their services, and hailed him as the regenerator of their country. The result of this assembly of Spanish notables was a constitution which contained all the elements of the regeneration of Spain. If the fanaticism of the monks, who had a representative in each family; if the influence exercised by the greatness and too generous exaltation of the national feeling of self-respect had not annulled the benefits of this constitution, Spain would to-day have been far advanced on the road of prosperity, which the constitution drawn up at Bayonne opened out before her feet.

Whilst the deliberations of the junta were proceeding, Charles IV., the Queen, and the Prince de la Paix left for Fontainebleau. The Infants, followed by the Duke de San Carlos and Canon Escoïquitz, were sent

to the Castle of Valançay, which had been selected by the Emperor as the residence of these princes. Taken by surprise, and dragged on by the rapidity with which events had crowded on, Napoleon had only just the time to send word to Prince de Bénévent, to whom this estate belonged, and who had remained in Paris, to proceed to Valançay and to receive the Infants.

King Joseph passed from the throne of Naples to the throne of Spain and the Grand-duke of Berg went to take his place in Naples. The Grand-duchy of Berg, left vacant by Murat, was united to the French Empire, and was given, in 1810, to the eldest son of Prince Louis, after the latter had abdicated and renounced the crown of Holland.

This business having been disposed of, the Emperor, accompanied by the Empress, left Marrac to return to Paris. He spent a day at Pau and at Tarbes. At Pau he occupied the castle where Henri IV. was born. This castle, situated at a distance of a thousand yards from the town had since been restored, and has become an imperial residence. At Tarbes the Emperor slept at the prefect's mansion, where he noticed, in one of the drawing-rooms, a fine portrait of Lays, the celebrated Opera singer, one of the glories of the department.

Napoleon only spent twelve hours at Auch. Hearing that General Dessoles, who had refused to fill the functions of chief of the staff to General Lannes at Boulogne, was living in the neighbourhood, retired in a country house, he charged Prince de Neufchâtel to offer him a post. General Dessoles had disapproved of the condemnation of Moreau, and, without expressing his discontent, had found some pretext for retiring from the service. He had been chief of the staff to

this celebrated general. He had filled the same post in the army in Hanover, when this army was under the command of the Prince de Ponte-Corvo, and had even commanded it during the Marshal's absence. General Dessoles had grown to hate the Emperor with a hidden hatred during these two campaigns, a hatred which he had not dared to make public, but which burst out with violence in 1814. Napoleon, who admired this general officer's talents, had no hesitation in making the first advances. He entrusted him with the command of a division in Spain. General Dessoles asked to be recalled after some time. This inconstancy of humour, or rather this hidden ill-will, did not exhaust the Emperor's patience, and at the time of the expedition to Russia he appointed the general chief of the staff to Prince Eugene. After the taking of Smolensk, Dessoles once more asked to be allowed to leave the army on the pretext of bad health. He was present in Paris, in 1814, at the time of the entry of the allies. It is known how he behaved. *

The stay of the Emperor and the Empress, for two days, at Toulouse, their journey to Montauban and Agen were marked by the wild enthusiasm which Napoleon's presence excited everywhere. His apparition was always followed by measures calculated to increase the prosperity of the towns and provinces which he visited. Madame de Balbi, an old friend of the Comte de Provence, who afterwards became Louis XVIII., happened to be at Montauban at the time. I had occasion to see her in Paris, after the Restoration, and to hear her boast before me of having been an

* Went over to the Restoration and became President of the Council of Ministers in 1818.—R. H. S.

honourable exception to the general joy which was manifested at Montauban at the time of Napoleon's visit.

Whilst the Emperor was pursuing his way through the departments of the South, the insurrection in Spain had become general. The news of the double abdication of Charles IV. and of Ferdinand, and King Joseph's proclamation had brought about an explosion of the feelings of hatred which only wanted an opportunity to burst out. In the space of a week, towards the end of May, the East, North, and West of Spain were on fire. The Spaniards had risen as one man. The arsenals had been ransacked, and the people had armed. Juntas had been formed and a mass levy was being organized on every side. The mob took the initiative everywhere, and imposed its umbrageous and savage authority. In the chiefs who were in authority it saw none but traitors. Most of the captains-general were murdered, because they refused blind obedience to the riotous passions of the mob. The least hesitation was punished with a cruel death. Enlightened men, both military and civil, who feared reprisals from France, and who, satisfied with the fall of a shameful government, looked for the reform of abuses and the benefits of a government which was anxious to cause its usurpation to be forgotten, essayed to calm the fury of the mob. They fell victims to their own wisdom and patriotism; the furious mob pursued them into refuges most worthy of respect, murdering them in the arms of their own soldiers, or of their families. Their bodies were dragged through the mud; their heads were carried at the end of pikes. The remnant of the French fleet which had escaped the disaster of Trafalgar had taken refuge in the port of Cadiz. When this insur-

rection broke out, this feeble squadron, having lost all hope of being rescued by General Dupont's corps, hemmed in by the English and the Spaniards, was obliged to surrender at discretion to the latter, to escape destruction without revenge.

The fury of the Spanish mob kept increasing, and excited the rioters to treat our unhappy prisoners with the refinements of unheard-of ferocity. They crucified some of these wretched soldiers to trees, others were hung up and fires were lighted beneath their feet. Others were buried alive; some were sawn asunder between two planks. The pen refuses to record the acts of horrible and inhuman barbarism which these cannibals indulged in towards their unfortunate victims. Women and children were treated with the most abominable cruelty. It was whilst at Bordeaux that the Emperor heard the sad news of the capitulation of Baïlen. The dishonourable conditions of this capitulation, the unworthy conduct of the Spanish generals, who, not satisfied with insulting them, had refused bread and water to our soldiers, who were dying of hunger, and who were choking under the burning and implacable sun—all this desolating news filled Napoleon with indignation and grief. These feelings reached their highest pitch when he heard how horribly the ferocious mob had treated those of our soldiers whom it could not kill, pursuing them all along the roads with stones and knives. Able-bodied, invalid, or wounded soldiers, not one had been able to escape the most revolting and most ignominious treatment. To crown these horrible excesses of mob fury, the junta of Seville refused to recognize the capitulation, declared the French prisoners of war, and had them conducted to Cadiz,

which they only reached after having faced a thousand dangers—pillaged, robbed, insulted, and running the risk of being murdered every minute of the day.

This disastrous day of Baïlen, during which twenty thousand French soldiers had marched past and laid down their arms before enemies who had always fled before them in the open field, was a reverse without example in the military history of the new France. It put a stain on our arms and dishonoured the glory which till then they had enjoyed. It struck a most serious blow against our prestige in Spain. This unexpected success, indeed, electrified the Spaniards, and dragged into the revolution those who were still hesitating. Napoleon was thunderstruck by this unexpected blow. A brave army had been struck by fate, and a spirit of dizziness had disabled its leaders. How, indeed, can so fatal an error be explained on the part of a general—General Dupont—whose military career had been most honourable and often brilliant, and for whom the Emperor destined in the future a Marshal's baton; on the part of another general officer of the highest merit—General Marescot—who till then had been esteemed and appreciated by Napoleon, and finally on the part of General Vedel, who had distinguished himself by brilliant feats of arms before Ulm, and at Friedland, but whose misfortune it was to be too loyal to military discipline? To crown all, one of the Emperor's equerries was one of the staff-officers of this army, and had been sent there on his request to enter the military service. His capacity as an officer of the imperial household had given him, in this deplorable occurrence, a rôle of confidence and a kind of ill-considered authority which had been fatal.

General Marescot, chief inspector of engineers, happened by chance to be at the head-quarters of the Dupont corps. Charged to reconnoitre the fort of Cadiz, he had been forced to follow the movements of this corps in consequence of the insurrection of the province of Seville. He was present at the affair at Baïlen, and yielding to pressing instances, he had consented to undertake to negotiate for a capitulation. He had proceeded at once to the Castagno's camp, dressed, it is said, in the Spanish uniform, for what reason is unknown, and had signed at the bottom of this shameful agreement, a name which till then had been without reproach. The necessity of making an example forced the Emperor to punish this general. He was dismissed from all his commissions. His wife shared his disgrace, and lost her place as lady-in-waiting to the Empress Josephine. Although Napoleon felt very sorry to have to act with such severity towards a lady whom he esteemed, Madame Marescot was forced to understand that it was impossible for her to remain at the palace any longer

The persons who had signed the capitulation of Baïlen were kept in prison for longer or shorter periods.* A draft of a decree was presented to the Council of State to decide upon the manner of their being sent to trial, but no effect was given to this measure. The Emperor has been rightly blamed for not having sent

* Napoleon afterwards admitted that Dupont had been unfortunate rather than culpable. As a matter of fact Dupont did all he could to rouse his army to a final effort, but both his officers and soldiers exhausted by the terrible heat, and for the most part stricken with disease, refused to move. The famous waggons, in order to preserve which Dupont was accused of having capitulated, only contained a trifling sum.—R. H. S.

the culprits before a court-martial, which would have published their judgment. The interruption of these proceedings has been attributed to an arbitrary will. Napoleon's first impulse was to deal out severe justice, but reflection restrained him. It may be that he thought that publicity would put forward beyond recall these shameful circumstances, and thus add fresh ignominy to the insult which stained our flag. To this consideration may be added another which will be equally blamed by the partisans of national justice. An irrevocable condemnation, such as a sentence of death, would have been the probable result of this trial, besides the scandal. These condemnations would have deprived Napoleon for ever of the help of officers whose conduct had been irreproachable until the day of a fatal error which did not in his eyes utterly efface the value of their past services. Extraordinary circumstances might arise, which would give them the opportunity of making up in a brilliant manner for what they had done, as happened in 1813, for the brave General Vedel, amongst others, whom Napoleon only blamed for having shown a too passive obedience to the orders of the commander-in-chief, Dupont, at Baïlen.

On leaving Bordeaux, Napoleon had proceeded towards the Vendée department, passing by Saintes and Rochefort. He was received as a benefactor. Men and women, old and young, left their farms to rush in crowds to the road on which the Emperor and the Empress were to pass, and to hail them with acclamations of joy, which certainly were not given to order. The traces of the civil war which had devastated these beautiful

provinces had disappeared. Large, fine roads in every direction increased the means of communication. From the desert that it had been, this district had become peopled and flourishing. The principal town in the district, Ville-Napoleon, was already supplied with its chief public establishments, others were in course of construction. Numerous private houses, recently built, were all tenanted. In the audiences which the Emperor gave to the mayors and to the priests, who had come together more than two hundred strong, to the soldiery and to the guards of honour, he questioned each on the needs of his department and accorded new favours. The gratitude which the Vendéens displayed towards the hand which had restored their prosperity was the best guarantee of the resistance which, in case of need, they would oppose to any fomenters of fresh discords.

From Napoléon-Ville the Emperor went to spend three days at Nantes, where he was not idle. He visited Angers, Tours, and Blois and arrived at St. Cloud on August 14th, 1808.

CHAPTER III.

The Emperor's Fête—Presents Offered by the Russian and Persian Ambassadors—Visit to David's Studio—General Revolt in Spain—Honourable Reception Paid by the City of Paris to the Columns of the Great Army—The Erfurth Interview—Details—Fête given at Weimar—Presentation of Goethe and Wieland to the Emperor Napoleon—Baron Vincent at Erfurth—Convention Between the two Emperors—Adieux—The King and Queen of Prussia visit Emperor Alexander on his Return—M. de Romanzoff—Landing of the French Army from Portugal at Rochefort—M. de Bourmont—The Belem Bible—Prince de Bénévent's Conduct at Erfurth—His Nocturnal Conversations with Emperor Alexander—His Intelligences with Austria—Marriage of his Nephew to the Princess Dorothea of Courland—Reasons by which Prince de Bénévent Justifies his Conduct at Erfurth—The Marquis de la Romana's Escape from the Danish Isles—His Landing in Spain—The Emperor's Departure for the Army—My Journey from Marrac to Vittoria—Occupation of Burgos—The Castle of Lerma—The Soma-Sierra Defile—Arrival before Madrid—Summonses—Spanish Monks at the Bivouac—Entry of the Army into Madrid—The Emperor's Head-quarters at Chamartin—King Joseph arrives there—He Establishes Himself at the Pardo—Queen of Naples's Correspondence found at Chamartin—Acts of Severity and of Clemency—Pillage Repressed—March to Meet the English Army—Crossing the Guadarama—Stay at the Convent of Tordesillas—Audience Given to the Abbess of this Convent—Her Ingenuousness—The Emperor's Kindness towards Her—Reflections of the Emperor on Convents—News of the Armings in Austria—Return to Valladolid—A Deputation from the City of Madrid—Marshal Lannes Sent to the Siege of Saragossa—Portrait of Saint Napoleon found in the Dominican Convent—Results of this Short Campaign—Return at Great Speed to Paris—Marshal Berthier sent out to the Army—Decree against the French in Foreign Services—Violent Reproaches Addressed to Prince de Bénévent at the Issue of the Privy Council—The Ex-Minister's Impassibility—His Apparent Oblivion of the Humiliation which he had Undergone—M. de Montesquiou is Appointed Grand Chamberlain—Pensions Accorded to Members of the Ancient Reigning Family—Exile of Certain Persons belonging to the Faubourg St. Germain—The Duchess of Gesvres—The Emperor goes into the Elysée—Surrender of Saragossa—Notre Dame de Pilar—Picture Representing the Emperor in his Cabinet—Nominations to the two Vacant Posts of Secretary of the Cabinet—Note on M. Mounier, one of the New Secretaries—Organization and Staff of the Topographical Office—The Austrian Army enters Bavaria Without previously Declaring War—The Emperor's Departure for the Campaign of 1809—Misunderstanding of His Orders—Opening of the Campaign—Battle of Eckmuhl—The Emperor is Wounded before Ratisbon—Encounter at Abensberg—Taking of Vienna—Short Stay at Schönbrunn—The Island of Lobau—Battle of Essling—Death of Marshal Lannes—Regrets Caused by his Loss to the Emperor—Return to Schönbrunn—The Army assembled in the Island of Lobau—The Austrian General Chasteler—The Partisans Kats, Dornberg, Schill—Irruption of the Duke of Brunswick-Oels into Westphalia—Success of the Army in Italy—It Joins the Great Army—The Battle of Raab—Second Crossing of the Danube—Battle of Wagram—Alert—Visit to the Field of Battle—Colonel Oudet—Macdonald, Oudinot and Marmont appointed

Marshals—Armistice of Znaim—Conference of Altenburg Transferred to Vienna—Attempted Murder—Peace of Vienna, Public and Secret Clauses—Enlargement of the Duchy of Warsaw—Lot Accepted by Russia—Numerical Weakness and Equivocal Conduct of the Russian Contingent—Duplicity of the St. Petersburg Cabinet—Deputation of Hungarians—Napoleon Regrets having left Austria too Powerful—Napoleon's Solicitude for His Soldiers—Condemnation of Treacherous Military Agents—Fruitless Expedition of the English against the Island of Walcheren—Bernadotte's Command—Contentions between the Pope and the Emperor—Occupation of the Marches and of Rome—Removal of the Pope—Creation of New Duchies and Principalities—Order of the Three Golden Fleeces—Erection of an Obelisk on the Pont-Neuf *Terre-plein*—Seizure of Letters—Pardon Refused—The Penury of the Viennese Relieved by the Emperor—Crescentini and Talma—Doctor Corvisart at Vienna—Destruction of the Ramparts of this Capital—The Emperor Awaits the Ratification of the Treaty of Peace at this Capital—Return to France—Arrival at Fontainebleau—Large Court—Intrigues of the Queen of Etruria at Nice—She is Sent to a Convent in Rome—Bad State of Affairs in Spain—General Suchet's Success in Aragon—Ferdinand Congratulates the Emperor on the Victories Gained in Spain

THE Emperor's return took place on the eve of his fête, which was celebrated with the customary solemnities. The same day the Senate gave a very beautiful fête in the Luxembourg gardens—Free performances were given at all the theatres—The staff officers of the imperial guard celebrated Saint Napoleon* with a banquet of three hundred covers in the rooms of the Palais-Royal. The City of Paris offered a banquet, followed by a ball to the Emperor, who was present with the Empress and the whole of the Court.

At the audience on the following Sunday the Russian ambassador presented gifts consisting of jasper

*After the signing of the Concordat the 15th of August was appointed by Rome as the day of celebration of the feast of a certain saint—the first martyr found in the catacombs, whose name, which somewhat resembled that of Napoleon—it was Naponius or Naponeone or something similar—was, to please the Emperor, transformed into Napoleon. It may be mentioned that in the Jesuit colleges where each evening Meditations are held on the saint whose feast falls on the morrow, the first thing that used to be said by the professor to his pupils at the Meditations on the eve of St. Napoleon was: "Consider that we know little or nothing of Saint Napoleon but etc." After the fall of the Empire Saint Napoleon was relegated to the obscurity of All Saints Day. His feastday was again established under the second Empire.—R. H. S.

vases, and malachite tables, columns, and cups of extraordinary size.

On the same day Napoleon's statue, which was intended for the Place Vendôme, and which had just been cast most successfully, was conveyed to this square. This statue, executed by Chaudet, had been cast out of the metal of the cannons taken from the enemy.

The Emperor spent the five weeks which followed on his return from Bayonne at St. Cloud. He received there the new Persian ambassador at a solemn audience given on this occasion. The ambassador's name was Asker-Khan. He had been sent to him to continue the friendly relations which had been established at Finckenstein by Mirza-Rizza. The ambassador spoke in the name of the hereditary Prince of Persia. He was commissioned to offer the swords of Tamerlane and Thamas-Koulikan to the Emperor. Amongst the presents which he offered were some fine Cashmere shawls, some of which were given to the Empress and the ladies of her court, in the Emperor's name.

Napoleon went to Paris several times, to be present at the fête at the Hôtel de Ville, to visit constructions of public utility, to see the panoramas, and for the receptions of the diplomatic corps which took place at the Tuileries. During one of his short stays in Paris he went to view the great picture of the coronation in David's studio. He was accompanied on this occasion by the Empress and her court. Napoleon had pardoned David's errors, on condition that he would devote himself exclusively to the art in which he excelled, and had appointed him his first painter. The Emperor's visit to David's studio was an encouragement given to the arts.

The news of the capitulation of Baïlen, by which twenty thousand French soldiers had laid down arms, in the open field, an event more deplorable for French arms than the surrender of Ulm had been to Austria, had produced the worst possible impression in Madrid. A general defection declared itself, not only amongst the Spanish grandees who after having taken the oath of allegiance to Joseph Bonaparte had accompanied him to Madrid, but even amongst the persons in his service. The wildest and most absurd reports were spread abroad by the monks and all the enemies of France to excite the mob, blind in its anger, to the most extreme excesses. The fiery and savage character of the idle and excitable populations of the towns and country exaggerated these reports still more. The most sensitive fibres of the people were worked upon, its national pride, its religion, its attachment to its princes. A new divine scourge had come upon them to destroy their nationality, to tear them from their homes and to send them to perish in icy climates and in distant wars, victims of an all-devouring ambition. Shackles for chaining them two by two had, it was said, been brought with the French troops. From these impressions greedily accepted by the Spanish mob, there had resulted a hatred of the French, profound, implacable, and exalted to the pitch of ferocity. The occupation of Madrid had become impossible. King Joseph decided to evacuate it. He left in broad daylight on July 31st, passing through the town in the midst of the extreme agitation which had been caused by the announcement of his departure. He was followed by some of his ministers * and retired to Vittoria

* Señores Pinuela and de Cevallos abandoned King Joseph without

with a portion of the first French army which had entered into Spain. The general rising which followed, the animosity which began to characterize the war in this country, the resolution which the Emperor had taken to go there in person, made Napoleon feel the necessity of assuring himself that Russia's disposition was the same, and of conferring on this subject with the Emperor Alexander. An interview was accordingly proposed to the Czar.

The time and place of this interview having been settled, the Emperor left Paris on September 22nd to proceed to Erfurth, where the interview was to take place.

On the same day the first column of the Great Army arrived in Paris. It was received at the Pantin gate by the municipal body, and was offered the gold crown which had been voted to the Great Army after the battle of Austerlitz. This column was followed by several others, which passed through Paris one after the other on their way to Spain. All were received with the same solemnity by the municipal authorities, and the City gave banquets and fêtes in their honour on this occasion.

Marshal Lannes had been sent to receive the Emperor of Russia on the frontier of the district occupied by the French army. Napoleon arriving at Erfurth first, went to meet Alexander at a league and a half from the town, which the two sovereigns entered to the sound of bells and the firing of cannon. They had exchanged the insignia of their orders. During the stay of the emperors at Erfurth Napoleon always placed the Emperor Alexander on his right hand to show that

a word of explanation. D'Azanza, O'Farrill and d'Urquijo followed him on his retreat.—R. H. S.

it was he who was doing the honours and was in his own place. The houses which they occupied had been furnished by the *garde-meuble* of the French crown and the cost had been paid by the French civil list. The Kings of Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, the Prince Primate, the Grand-duke and Grand-duchess of Baden, the Dukes of Saxony and most of the Princes of the Confederation of the Rhine came to Erfurth. The Emperor Napoleon received the Emperor Alexander, the Grand-duke Constantine, his brother, and the sovereigns to dinner every day. At one of these dinners Napoleon noticing that Alexander had forgotten his sword, presented him with his own.

The leading actors of the Théâtre-Français gave numerous performances of our best tragedies. On the first day the Emperors occupied a box situated in the centre of the theatre. This distance from the stage prevented Alexander from hearing the actors' voices distinctly, he being rather deaf. Napoleon then gave orders that a dais should be raised in the orchestra, and two arm-chairs for the emperors and chairs for the kings were placed upon it. It was during one of these performances that Alexander bending over to Napoleon quoted to him this line of the "Oedipus" to which Voltaire's great reputation could not give the celebrity, which it acquired after this occurrence:

"The friendship of a great man is a gift of the gods."

Alexander's conduct was altogether in harmony with the feeling, feigned rather than sincere, which had prompted him to make this quotation. The two sovereigns spent three weeks at Erfurth, on terms of the most intimate familiarity, riding out together and

reviewing the French troops. Hunting-parties, banquets, balls, and theatrical performances were given at Weimar to the whole Court of Erfurth by the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. The battle-field of Jena was visited by the two Emperors.

Goethe and Wieland were presented to Napoleon who was very anxious to make their acquaintance. These two illustrious poets were received by him with the highest distinction and justified in his eyes the opinion he had formed of their merits. Napoleon carried away with him, from the long conversations which he had with them, a high esteem for their talents and for their character. He gave them a proof of this by decorating them with his own hands with the order of the Legion of Honour.

On his return to Erfurth the Emperor gave an audience to Baron Vincent, the Austrian *envoyé*. The suspicious conduct of the Vienna Cabinet aroused too much distrust in Napoleon's mind to make him wish to invite the Emperor Francis or his Prime Minister to the Erfurth meeting. M. de Vincent came to bring to Napoleon the protestations of friendship of which the Austrian Cabinet was so lavish; he also came to see what was going on. I will mention later what support this *envoyé* hoped to find at Erfurth for the success of his mission.

On the same day a convention was signed between the two Emperors. Its object was to renew the Tilsitt alliance, to make an application in common to the London Cabinet, and finally to acknowledge the new acquisitions of Russia and the new state of things in Spain. After this business had been settled the sovereigns took leave of each other and presents were

exchanged. The Emperor Alexander, who professed to treat me with great kindness presented me, as a mark of his favour, with a box ornamented with his cipher in diamonds, worth about ten thousand francs. I first heard of it from the Emperor Napoleon, who authorized me to accept it. Alexander came to take leave of Napoleon, who accompanied him on horseback to the place where his carriages were waiting for him. During this long ride the two sovereigns conversed together alone. Alexander embraced Napoleon, on leaving him, with all the appearances of great cordiality. They were to meet again, sword in hand.* The vivacity of these demonstrations was the last expression of a friendship which had no other motive than Alexander's ambition. It had been agreed at Tilsitt that they should meet again later on to come to an understanding, as the Czar hoped, on the Turkish question. Napoleon's refusal to agree to Alexander's demands, or for the time being to permit anything further than the annexation of Wallachia and Moldavia to Russia, began to cool this prince towards an alliance which appeared to him sterile, seeing that it did not carry all the fruits that he had hoped to win from it.

It may not be useless to point out that about two months after Alexander's return from Erfurth to St. Petersburg the King and Queen of Prussia entered the Russian capital. Their Prussian Majesties had arrived the evening before—January 6th, 1809—at Strelna, an imperial pleasure house, situated at a distance of two stages from St. Petersburg. Alexander hastened to see them and had a long conference with them. He returned to Strelna on the following morn-

* Figuratively. They never met again in person.—R. H. S.

ing, before the solemn entry into St. Petersburg and remained closeted for two hours with the King and Queen.

The Emperor Alexander was accompanied to Erfurth by Count Romanzoff, whom I mention because Napoleon paid special attention to him. This Minister enjoyed his master's entire confidence and showed himself the outspoken partisan of the French alliance. M. de Romanzoff urged on the realization of Peter and Catherine's projects on the Orient Empire. When the friendly relations which he had so carefully maintained between Russia and France, broke off, he sent in his resignation from all his posts, either because he saw in this change of policy an abandonment of the scheme of a division of Turkey, or because he did not wish to co-operate in the system of an alliance with England against which he always declared himself. He carried with him, into his retirement, the respect of all and retained his sovereign's esteem, which was frequently expressed in the most honouring terms. He devoted his leisure to letters and science. An enlightened protector of Russian commerce and industry, he employed the largest part of his immense fortune in founding philanthropical establishments, in maritime expeditions, in the publication of articles and ancient documents on the history of Russia. He gave encouragement to Russian and foreign savants and opened his vast and wealthy library to them.

In the memoirs left by M. de Talleyrand, memoirs of which some passages have been made public, which his secretaries copied and in the writing of which some of them even co-operated, there is to be found a curious chapter of which I give the substance further on. It refers to the conferences which took place

between the two sovereigns of France and Russia at Erfurth, in 1808, previous to the campaign which Napoleon made in person in Spain. After the Restoration M. de Talleyrand spoke with complacency of his conduct at that time. The revelations which follow are accordingly no betrayal of a secret. Moreover if I anticipate the time fixed by himself at which the public is to be initiated into his confidence, I shall be pardoned his want of discretion. Already and from now on, this important person belongs to history as a public man. He has fallen into the domain of the chronicler.

When the Erfurth interview had been agreed upon between the two sovereigns, the Emperor Napoleon, although the Prince de Bénévent was no longer a Minister and had been replaced by M. de Champagny, took both of them with him to Erfurth. Long accustomed to the Prince's services he could not dispense with him altogether under certain circumstances. He considered that this minister's skill in diplomatic conferences and his knowledge of his political views, might be useful to him. If this imprudence towards a man who had acted badly to him and whom he had not allowed--and rightly so—to add the Ministry of Exterior Relations to the dignity of Vice-Grand-Elector and the post of Grand Chamberlain—was often harmful to Napoleon, it may be said that the fault he committed in allowing Talleyrand to come to Erfurth was fatal to the Emperor. At Erfurth Napoleon specially employed Prince de Bénévent in his confidential communications with the Emperor Alexander. I do not know whether the Emperor was well informed of the nature of the nocturnal conversations which Talleyrand used

to have with the Czar at the house of the Princess of Thurn and Taxis, after the theatre, which the sovereigns visited almost every evening. What were these conversations? Prince de Bénévent undertook to answer that question not only in his Memoirs, but in his private conversations.

M. de Talleyrand used to come to the levee every morning at Erfurth. When everybody had left, Napoleon detained him. He spoke to him of his plans, of his views on the Ottoman Empire, of Spanish affairs, of the attitude which he wished to maintain towards the Emperor Alexander, of the advantages which he hoped to derive from his alliance with him, and of the gradual concessions, which he proposed to make him. Prince Talleyrand admits that he had no scruples in betraying these confidences to the Czar in their conversations in the evening. He thus prepared this prince for the communications which were to be made to him by Napoleon warning him of the hidden purpose of the insinuations which would be made to him. Alexander used to speak at Erfurth of his ardent desire to visit Paris, of how pleased he should be to be present at the meetings of the Council of State presided over by Napoleon, and to be able to initiate himself under such a master to the science of government. I do not know how far this wish was sincere. I heard the Czar speak about it with apparent earnestness, but Talleyrand's revelations must have considerably modified the Czar's wish to increase his intimacy with Napoleon. Admitting that this ex-minister did not envenom his master's confidences, it will easily be understood that this kind of confidences always touches on delicate matters, which, when they are approached without mission

and without being treated with the necessary opportuneness and circumspection, are liable to be wrongly interpreted and to produce deplorable effects.

Prince de Bénévent did not content himself with abusing Napoleon's confidence, as regards Russia. He rendered Austria—another service. M. de Metternich having been unable to procure an invitation to his sovereign to come to Erfurth, had remained in Paris, where he was kept by his functions as ambassador. The Austrian Cabinet could not dispense with the presence of a representative at Erfurth. The Emperor Francis accordingly despatched an *envoyé* there, bearing a letter of which the apparent purpose was to congratulate Napoleon on the occasion of his presence in Germany and to reassure him on the justly suspected disposition of the Austrian Cabinet: the real object of this mission being to find out what was going on at Erfurth and to try and gather what was being planned against Austria. The Baron de Vincent, whom the Prince de Bénévent had already presented to the Emperor at Warsaw, under almost analogous circumstances was, as we have seen, selected for this mission. He received orders to see M. de Talleyrand and to listen to what he would tell him. The Prince de Bénévent used to explain his secret relations with the Emperor of Russia and with the Austrian minister in a manner which is related below. It is difficult, however, to believe that they were totally disinterested on his part, although I have no proof of the price which Austria paid for such precious advice. As concerns the reward given by the Emperor Alexander, we may quote the following fact, amongst other proofs of the Czar's gratitude.

In the course of one of the audiences which Napoleon accorded to the Prince de Bénévent, and of which the latter made the use which has been seen, the Emperor told him that in his private conversations with Alexander the latter had come to speak of the eventuality of a divorce on Napoleon's part and the necessity of his remarrying and at the same time had indirectly offered him the hand of one of the Grand-duchesses of Russia.

M. de Talleyrand at once saw the advantage to himself that he could derive from this confidence. He congratulated the Emperor Alexander on the subject and then skilfully seizing his opportunity, said to him: "Sire, since your Majesty is in so happy a matrimonial disposition, you will allow me to ask a favour. I have had the misfortune to lose my eldest nephew, a young man full of promise.* There remains one whom I wish to marry with advantage, but there is no prospect of doing so in France. The Emperor keeps all his rich heiresses for his aides-de-camp.** Your Majesty has amongst your subjects a family with which it is my greatest desire to ally myself. The hand of the Princess Dorothea of Courland would crown the

*Count Louis de Périgord, sent as a courier to St. Petersburg had returned on the homeward journey without taking any rest. He had just died a victim to his zeal at Berlin, of an inflammation of the lungs.

** The following characteristic letter from Napoleon to General Savary, Duc de Rovigo, Minister of the General Police, bears out Talleyrand's statement.—R. H. S.

"FONTAINEBLEAU, NOVEMBER 8th, 1810.

"My Lord Duke of Rovigo. I approve of what you propose with reference to the individuals in the departments of Belgium and beyond the Alps, statistics of whom you have sent me. You will inform those who have daughters to marry that they are not at liberty to dispose of them without my consent, my intention being to marry them to Frenchmen who have distinguished themselves in my armies.—NAPOLEON."

wishes of my nephew Edmund." The Emperor Alexander, who had often declared his wish to be agreeable to Prince de Bénévent, at once promised him his assistance in the matter and told him that it was his intention on returning to St. Petersburg to stop at the house of the Duchess of Courland, that he would take Edmund de Périgord with him, who being at that time attached to the French embassy in Russia had accompanied the Duke of Vicence to Erfurth, that he would undertake that the Duchess would accept him and that the matter might be considered settled.

After the stories which M. de Talleyrand has told himself, with all particulars, of what passed between him and the Emperor of Russia and the Austrian *envoyé* at Erfurth, one would like to know what pretext he puts forward to justify his conduct. This is the pretext. Frightened by the dangerous progress in power of Napoleon, Prince de Bénévent had the *patriotic* inspiration to endeavour to check the impetuosity of his upward flight and to put obstacles in the way of the execution of his adventurous projects, to bring him back to moderation. He pretended to believe that in arousing the vigilance of Russia and Austria in this matter, he would be rendering a signal service first of all to Napoleon and then to France and Europe. Such an apology reminds one of the excuses made by the unfaithful regimental treasurers, who having been punished by the imperial government, posed before the government of the Restoration as victims of the Empire, alleging in their justification that they had desired to starve the usurper and to reduce him to impotence by depriving him of the sinews of war. It was only much later that the Emperor heard what had been the nature of

M. de Talleyrand's night-conversations with the Emperor Alexander at the house of the Princess of Thurn and Taxis.

It was during his stay at Erfurth that the Emperor heard of the Convention of Cintra by the terms of which the French army secured its return to France with arms and baggage, conveyed on English vessels. The capitulation was an honourable one. However much Napoleon was grieved by this issue to the expedition in Portugal he showed no resentment to the Duke d'Abrantès, who was a brave and loyal soldier, of rare courage and entirely devoted to him. The French army landed shortly afterwards at Rochefort. M. de Bourmont, whom General Junot had found in Portugal was amongst them. The commander-in-chief, in acknowledgement of the services which Bourmont had rendered in Lisbon, had asked the Emperor for a post for him, which Napoleon had refused and it was against his orders that the old Vendéen leader had followed the army.

After the return of General Junot, complaints had been made to the Emperor about the too great extension which the Duke d'Abrantès had given to the right of conquest in Portugal, amongst other things the seizure of the famous Bible at the convent of Belem. To understand the value attached to this manuscript by the Portuguese Government, it is necessary to give a brief outline of its history. At the time of the discovery of the route to East India by the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco de Gama sent the King of Portugal, Dom Manuel, the firstfruits of the riches of these countries, consisting in gold, pearls, and diamonds. According to the ideas current at that time Dom Manuel thought it his duty to offer these firstfruits to the holy See. Julius II., who at that time occupied the pontifical chair, sent back

in return a manuscript to the King of Portugal. This manuscript was remarkable for the perfection of its writing, the beauty of the vignettes, picked out with gold, for the magnificence of its binding and of its clasps which were enriched with precious stones. This manuscript was a Bible with a commentary by Dom Thomas de Lira, in seven big quarto volumes. Dom Manuel had just founded a convent of Hieronymites at Belem with all the magnificence which at that time was the lot of religious foundations. He had the work deposited there and placed it under the prior's care. This book was only shown, even in quite recent times, with the greatest circumspection. The monks were not allowed to part with it without an authorization not only signed but entirely written by the King. General Junot having heard this marvel spoken about, and using the right of conquest, had it brought to him, promising to return it in three days, a promise which he forgot to keep. Events brought on the battle of Vimeiro and the Convention of Cintra, which stipulated for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The prior of the Hieronymites made the English General interfere to regain possession of the Bible and an officer was despatched to General Junot to ask for its restitution. Junot alleged that the manuscript had been sent to France by the *aviso* which had informed the Emperor of the Convention of Cintra and expressed his regret at not being able to restore it. This Bible accordingly remained in Paris in the General's library. At his death his furniture, pictures, and books were sold. The Bible was not included in the catalogue and was reserved for sale by private treaty. A Frenchman who had lived twelve years in Portugal and who had

returned to France was charged to write to the Emperor, who was in Dresden at the time, to inform him of the matters related and to solicit his interference for the restitution of this Bible. The Emperor wrote to the Duke of Rovigo, Minister of Police, on the subject who took the steps prescribed by Napoleon. The wretched Duke d'Abrantès had died in consequence of a deplorable mental aberration. Out of interest for Madame d'Abrantès, left a widow and without fortune, and considering perhaps that time had, so to speak, legitimized the possession of a booty taken in war, the Emperor did not insist on the order of restitution which he had given. He was, moreover, much too busy to pay any serious attention to this matter and it remained as it stood. The Restoration came. Marquis de Palmella, Portuguese ambassador to Paris, and Count de Funchal, Portuguese ambassador to Rome, took steps for the restitution of the precious manuscript. Count Funchal asked for an audience with King Louis XVIII. and obtained an order from him, which obliged the Duchess d'Abrantès to restore the Bible. But, in view of Madame d'Abrantès's precarious position, the King insisted that a sum of eighty thousand francs, the sum at which the Bible had been estimated, should be paid to the Duchess. Thanks to this arrangement, the Bible, with the commentary of Dom Thomas de Lira, found its way back to the Hieronymite convent, where it is to this day. The poor prior of the monastery had been exiled for three years for having allowed himself to be deprived of this manuscript, in spite of the fact that he had been quite powerless to oppose it.

On his return to Erfurth, the Emperor only spent

ten days at St. Cloud. He heard there of the landing in Spain of the army of the Marquis de Romana, the evasion of which from the Danish islands where it had been in cantonment, had been announced to him in the preceding month of August. This event was calculated to increase the excitement of the inhabitants of the Peninsula and to fortify the spirit of resistance which animated them. The preceding Spanish Government, directed by the Prince de la Paix—had on the demand of the Emperor added a corps of fifteen thousand men to the French army in atonement for his hostile proclamation of October 3rd, 1806, about which we spoke in its place. This corps, the command of which had been confided to the Marquis de la Romana, was intended for the North of Germany. Placed under the orders of the Prince of Ponte-Corvo—Bernadotte—it was charged with the defence of the island of Fionia. The Spanish general, hearing of what had happened at Bayonne, conceived the design of leading his troops back to Spain and depriving the French army of their assistance, to add them as auxiliaries to the insurrection. With this purpose in view he entered into communication with the English Admiral Keates, who was in command in the Baltic, by the intermediary of a Spanish priest of Scotch origin whose name was Robertson. He then set to work to collect his scattered troops, by means of schemes plotted with great dissimulation, on the points on the coast where the boats of the English transport were ready to receive them. La Romana had been able to inspire Bernadotte with such confidence that Spanish companies formed part of the bodyguard of the commander-in-chief. Thanks to orders supposed

to emanate from the staff, he had been able to have marches executed by his troops, on the longest days in the year, which should have aroused suspicion. Detachments dispersed in the island of Fionia and in Jutland were in this way able to reach the island of Langeland which had been fixed upon as a general meeting place, without attracting attention. The Spanish troops who were nearest to Copenhagen, and who had committed certain acts of violence were disarmed by the Danes. All the others were assembled within three days and embarked. During their passage these troops put into port in England where the English government armed and equipped them at the public cost. After a long sea-voyage, General La Romana landed in the first days of October, at Santander, with nine thousand men who went to swell General Blake's army in Biscay.

The Emperor left on October 29th to put himself at the head of the armies in Spain, to which several corps coming from Germany had been added. He only passed the night at Marrac and rode thence to Vittoria where King Joseph was staying. He spent five days in this town to give the soldiers time to come up, and devoted his attention to ensuring his communications and ordering military arrangements in Biscay, Navarre, and Aragon. I left Bayonne on the morrow and rode at full speed to Vittoria with M. Yvan, the Emperor's surgeon in ordinary, leaving my carriage behind me. We were surprised to find at Vittoria the old foot grenadiers of the guard, who had left Bayonne the day before and who had marched nearly twenty-five leagues in two days, laden like Roman soldiers. At Oyarsun the postmaster and his wife did

us the excellent turn of keeping us back till daybreak, because armed peasants had been seen on the roads. At a distance of a mile from Oyarsun, as it happened, we found a French officer, who had been murdered, lying by the wayside. Mondragon, through which we passed had a festive air which quite reassured us. However, at different points along our route we came across young conscripts, placed on solitary sentry duty, who were in a very nervous state of mind. At last we succeeded in reaching Vittoria safely. I had had some small pistols sent on to me from Paris and carried them on me. When the Emperor heard of this excess of prudence, he told me that I had acted wrongly as it would make people think that he was in personal danger. But when I had told him about our journey, he did not blame my precaution any longer. It was, however, only necessary in the case of isolated individuals, for the safety of the Emperor and of his household was never for a moment in danger.

On November 11th the Emperor was at Burgos, after having fought an engagement on the outskirts of this town at which flags were captured which Napoleon sent to the Legislative body. The public establishments, the churches of this unhappy town were all given up to pillage. The bivouac fire, established in the bishop's palace, where the Emperor lived, was stoked with broken bits of furniture. The officers warmed themselves at this, sitting round it on gilded armchairs. The abbey, which contained the tombs of the Cid and of Chimenes, received numerous visitors. It was situated outside Burgos. M. Denon with whom I went there brought back with him one of Chimenes's teeth which he placed in a reliquary in which he had

collected together fragments of the mortal remains of many celebrated persons.

The Emperor spent ten or twelve days at Burgos. He proceeded thence in the direction of Madrid by the Aranda route. The beautiful Castle of Lerma, which was on our way, contained an enormous quantity of excellent wine in its cellars. This wine was given up to the soldiers. They used it for making cakes which they baked under the warm ashes of their bivouac-fires. Without any exaggeration, the air was scented with the smell of this wine poured about with that careless prodigality which is so characteristic of the soldier.

The defile of Somo-Sierra fortified by the Spaniards who deluded themselves with the hope of holding the French army in check and closing the road to Madrid, a defile defended by ten thousand men and fifteen pieces of cannon, was taken by storm by a brave charge of the Polish light cavalry of the guard, under the command of General Montbrun. Philip de Ségur was dangerously wounded in this engagement No further obstacle impeding the marching of the army, it advanced rapidly on Madrid. The Emperor presented himself before the walls of this city on December 2nd, the fourth anniversary of his coronation and the third of the battle of Austerlitz. King Joseph had joined him the evening before at head-quarters.

Madrid was in the hands of a fanatical mob. A staff officer who had been sent in to parley, was attacked in the interior of the town by a gang of murderers and narrowly escaped being killed. The Emperor could have taken this capital by storm, as it was not fortified, but he wished to spare the inhabitants the horrors of

an attack. He parleyed for two days with the furies who were encouraged by his humanity. Some Spanish prisoners were brought to the bivouac at which I was, amongst whom were some young monks dressed in long frockcoats buttoned up to the chin, and wearing swordbelts without any sword. They wanted to pass themselves off as officers and affected a military air. Then they were ordered to go through their drill and tried to do so, but did it like men who had never handled any weapons. They were thereupon asked to what regiments they belonged. At last when we had sufficiently enjoyed their embarrassment, their hats were taken off and the fresh shaven tonsures were exposed, which to their great confusion betrayed the disguise which they had assumed.

The occupation of Buen Retiro, a royal castle situated on a height, at one of the gates of Madrid, where certain defence works had been executed, put it in Napoleon's power to annihilate the city. He, however, decided to try the effects of a fresh summons. The junta of the defence answered by sending Captain General Thomas de Morla, one of the generals who had treated the soldiers who had capitulated at Baïlen with such inhumanity. He came to ask that the French troops might be withdrawn so as to give the junta time to calm the popular effervescence. But the Emperor received him with a severity which frightened him. Napoleon addressed him with such crushing and just reproaches that he withdew in terror without effecting his mission. The ultimatum had been signified to him that unless the city were surrendered within twelve hours, he and his garrison would be shot.

The Emperor gave orders for a general disarming.

The authorities of the town came to make their submission and to acknowledge King Joseph, who refused to receive the Spanish grandees who had remained in Madrid. Those who were most compromised had followed the Spanish troops who had left the capital by gates which were not yet occupied by us. Others were arrested and sent to France, Madrid was occupied in a military fashion and the King did not inhabit the palace. He went and established himself at the Prado, a royal castle situated at about one league from the capital. The Emperor also refused to live in Madrid and took up his quarters at Chamartin, a country house situated at about a league's distance from Madrid, the property of the Duke de l'Infantado. Chamartin is a small castle without dependencies, used as a country-box during the fine weather. The cold was rather severe when the Emperor came to live here, and there were no fireplaces in any of the rooms. The only heating-apparatus was some *braseros,* which were great copper basins filled with live coals which were placed in the centre of the rooms. Temporary fireplaces were fitted up in his bedroom and study, thanks to which the house was inhabitable during the fortnight he remained there. I may say, in passing, that as a rule he did not feel the cold, though he suffered from the heat. In spite of this he never broke his custom, even in the hottest weather, of wearing his uniform buttoned right up to his neck.

During his stay at Chamartin, Napoleon occupied himself with making arrangements for the complete subjection of Spain. He issued several laws endowing the country with the institutions which it lacked. Each day moreover he reviewed his troops under the walls of Madrid.

Some curious letters from Queen Caroline of Naples to her daughter, the Princess of the Asturias, were found at Chamartin. These letters had been left behind, by forgetfulness, in a drawer.

Some were written in secret ink, and dated in January, 1806. It was at the time that the French were about to enter into Naples. The bitterness with which the unhappy Queen spoke of her allies, the English, whom she accused of perfidy and cowardice—such were her expressions—prompted Napoleon to publish these letters. This correspondence, moreover, did not establish that any great union existed between the royal houses of Spain and Naples, though naturally enough it revealed the existence of strong hatred against the French. There was also found a small almanack of the Court of Naples for the year 1802, which was the year of the marriage of the Prince of the Asturias with the Princess of Naples, a marriage which had been celebrated at Barcelona with great magnificence. This almanack, which was probably a souvenir of the aforesaid royal marriage was ornamented with twelve pretty water-colour paintings representing the town of Naples, the palace, and various royal residences in the Two Sicilies, one painting to each month.

The Emperor's stay at Chamartin was marked by an act of severity and by an act of clemency. An order of the day had commanded that the strictest discipline should be observed—till then it had been too much neglected—and threatened the delinquents with all the rigours of military law. Two light infantry soldiers of the imperial guard, found guilty of pillage, theft, and odious violences committed on the persons of inhabitants of Madrid, were condemned to be shot

in sight of the city. The Emperor judging their execution necessary for the maintenance of military discipline, refused to pardon these soldiers although their previous good conduct was urged in their favour. I cannot refrain in connection with this act of severe justice to rebut the accusation brought against Napoleon of having tolerated disorder in his armies, by a kind of tacit understanding between himself and his soldiers, who, resembling in this the undisciplined hordes of the middle ages, were said to serve their chief only because of his tolerance of their excesses. Those who have followed the imperial armies know with what care Napoleon checked all pillage. If he heard that marauders were behaving in a disorderly manner behind his rear-guard, he used to order columns to be formed to pursue them, and rendered the commanding officers in the forts and at the points of defence of his communications, responsible for their crimes. His orders of the day enjoined the greatest respect for property and scathed those who tolerated disorder. Vienna, Berlin, Madrid and other cities witnessed the condemnation and execution of soldiers belonging as well to the imperial guard as to other army corps, when these soldiers had been found guilty of pillage.

The Marquis of St. Simon, a Frenchman in Spanish service, had been taken sword in hand, in command of a troop of rebels and had been sentenced to death by court-martial. Napoleon pardoned him. The daughter of this *emigré,* protected by some officers of the imperial household, who had been touched by her filial piety, and especially by Captain Duchand, orderly on service, was placed on the Emperor's passage and threw herself at his feet imploring her father's pardon.

Napoleon could not refuse it at the sight of Mlle. de St. Simon's tears. He, moreover, considered that the lesson was a sufficient one.

The Emperor had been a fortnight at Chamartin, awaiting news of the English army with great impatience when he at last heard that it had entered Spain from Portugal, by Salamanca, and that it was marching on Valladolid. Napoleon went off to meet it. He crossed the Guadarrama, which is a mountain situated to the North-East of Madrid. We were overtaken whilst crossing this mountain by a snowstorm which threatened to swallow us up, and by icy cold which destroyed some of our soldiers. In this crossing our army had a foretaste of the sufferings which we were to undergo, later, at the time of the terrible retreat from Moscow. It was impossible to remain on horseback. The Emperor was obliged to alight and order his light cavalry guards to march on foot, he in the midst of them, thus tracking out the road for the infantry which was coming on behind. On arriving at the bottom of the mountain he halted to assemble all his troops. Impatient as the Emperor was to get up with the English army, which kept retreating before him, he was forced to spend two days at Tordesillas, awaiting the arrival of his regiments. He took up his quarters in a building attached to the Convent of Ste. Claire, which was reserved for the bishop's lodging, when coming on a pastoral visit.

What follows about Napoleon's stay in this convent, was told me by M. d'Hédouville, who was acting as orderly to the Emperor in Spain and as interpreter.

Whilst at dinner Napoleon ordered this officer to bring the Lady Superior of the convent to him. At

first she refused to follow M. d'Hédouville, saying that she was not allowed to go out of bounds and could not pass beyond the gates of the cloister. She gave way when it was pointed out to her that the commands of a sovereign were a dispensation. Hesitatingly she took her conductor's arm. On reaching the wicket, she trembled so that she could not advance and M. d'Hédouville had to hold her up. She told him that it was more than sixty years since she had entered this convent, being at that time six years of age, and that since then she had never been outside its gates. On being introduced into the Emperor's presence, her first impulse was to kneel down before him. On a sign from him M. d'Hédouville held her back. The plate and decorations of the Emperor's orders were what most struck this poor and simple nun and she could not refrain from stretching out her hand to touch them. M. d'Hédouville checked her and pointed out to her how indiscreet was such curiosity. The Emperor asked her several questions. He first of all asked her if she were the abbess of the convent. She said that she only held the second place, and added: "Luckily for me." Napoleon asked her why she said that and she answered that she preferred to obey than to command, that it was more meritorious, and that her conscience was more at ease. The Emperor could not repress a smile at the ingenuousness of this answer. He then asked her if Jane the Mad, mother of Charles V., who had died at Tordesillas, was buried in the convent. She reflected for a moment and in the end answered that there were princes and queens buried in the vaults, but that she did not know their names. Asked whether she knew anything about

the history of Spain, she said that she knew nothing but her prayerbooks and the passages of the Bible which her confessor allowed her to read. The Emperor, who found that in spite of her age, her eyes were bright, asked her if she had been pretty. She answered naïvely, that she thought so, but that she had never had a looking-glass and that nobody had ever told her so. The conversation continued in this way for some time and the nun's answers betokened a natural wit. Napoleon, pleased with her innocence and her ingenuousness, told her that he wished to grant her a favour and that she might ask him for anything she chose. Before answering the nun asked if anything that she asked for would be granted to her. On being told that the Emperor did not promise in vain, she asked for the pardon of the director of the convent, who had been taken at the head of an armed gang, with his crucifix in his hand. Napoleon granted it, as he had promised, but added that this monk should be careful not to commit such a mistake again as it would be out of his power to pardon him a second time. The nun promised that she would see that he should not leave the convent and answered for him. The Emperor then said that he had granted a favour, on her account, to somebody who was not connected with her family, but that it was for her personally that he wished to do something. As she hesitated about answering, he had her asked if she had any relations. She answered that she had a brother in Holy Orders. "Would she like me to make a bishop of him?" said Napoleon. She knelt down to thank him for this unexpected favour, which, however, as it happened, could not be carried out, the monk in question being shut

up in Saragossa. Before the prioress returned to the convent, the Emperor had her served with some coffee. She did not like it, had never tasted coffee and was accustomed to chocolate alone. The poor nun, after having thanked the Emperor again for the kindness with which he had received her and having kissed his hand, was reconducted by M. d'Hédouville to her cloister, touched and grateful.

Before the Emperor left Tordesillas, M. d'Hédouville came to me in his name to ask me for a hundred napoleons to give to the lady superior of the convent. He was received with curiosity and kindness by the sisters to whom the Lady Superior had described her visit. They all ran up to see him, touched his hand and examined him with all the curiosity of islanders seeing Europeans for the first time. When M. d'Hédouville handed the prioress the hundred napoleons, she refused them, saying that if she were to take them, the convent would lose the small merit of its hospitality. On being told, as she frequently had been told before during her visit, that she was not free to refuse a sovereign's gift, she consented to accept it, and gave orders that this sum should be placed in the treasury of the chapter and only be used on extraordinary occasions, so that the proof of the Emperor's goodwill might be preserved as long as possible.

The nun having asked whether these pieces of gold were stamped with the Emperor's likeness, M. d'Hédouville broke open the paper roll and took out some of the coins to show to her. She seized them hastily and examined them with interest, assuring her companions who were watching her eagerly that she found the Emperor's portrait very like him.

On returning to Napoleon, M. d'Hédouville related what had passed. The Emperor had taken a real interest in the nun's visit. He found her full of tact. He regretted that instead of cultivating her natural talents, she had been subjected at so early an age to the education of the convent, the effect of which had been to choke these natural tendencies. And, nevertheless, in spite of the state of ignorance in which she had vegetated, in spite of the horror of the world with which this simple and credulous mind had been inspired, in spite of her minute religious practices, which left no freedom of exercise to the judgment, the gentleness and sweetness of her temper had not been changed and her good natural disposition had resisted these lethargic influences. "After all," he added, "this good soul is happy in her present situation. If convents have often their victims, they have also consoled many." Napoleon spoke of the relative utility of convents and dwelt at length on the subject. It could be seen that he had frequently thought over these refuges of meditation and prayer. He said that there were circumstances where convent life might have its advantages, that the cloisters must often be very well suited to tender minds, resigned and weary of the world, that these retreats might be opened with advantage, for example, to the widows of colonels and general officers, who losing by the death of their husbands the income which they had enjoyed during their lifetime, might combine their pensions and other resources together so as to be able to procure a carriage and other comforts, which singly they would not be able to afford; that in his opinion perpetual vows should be forbidden, and that in any case nobody should be admitted under the age of forty, and so on.

Thus the first impulse of his ardent and dreamy soul bore him towards benevolent ideas, which were matured and modified by time and by reflection, or abandoned when experience showed that they would be dangerous in practice.

During his march on Benavent, whilst close upon the heels of the English army and almost within reach of it, Napoleon received a courier bearing the portfolio in which the director of the Post-office used to place the letters addressed to the Emperor. As I had the key of this portfolio and was at that time a league behind, Napoleon was too impatient to await me. He tore the portfolio open and took out his despatches. There were amongst them letters from Champagny, the Minister of Exterior Relations, and one from the King of Bavaria to the Prince of Neufchâtel (Berthier). These letters announced that Austria was arming her landwehr, that the Bavarian States were threatened with an invasion, that the Austrian troops were manœuvring to cross the Inn and were calling the peoples of Germany to insurrection. This news did not surprise the Emperor. His eye had followed Austria's plots and he was expecting an early outbreak of hostilities, but he was prepared to meet them.

Nor did he ignore the intrigues which were in progress in Paris, as will be seen presently from the violent reproaches which he addressed to Prince de Bénévent. He decided accordingly to hasten his return to France. He pushed on as far as Astorga, and there reviewed his troops as they came up. He then dictated his instructions for Marshal Soult whom he charged with the pursuit of the English army on retreat.

Napoleon then returned to Benavent, which he left hastily for Valladolid. In this city he received a deputation of the principal authorities and the most important inhabitants of Madrid. This deputation came to implore him, with the strongest protestations of loyalty to the new king, to put no obstacle in the way of the return of King Joseph into the capital. The Emperor, having spoken to them with severe frankness and having called upon their loyalty, promised to write to the king to advise him to act in accordance with their wishes. He spent a week at Valladolid, awaiting the news of his brother's return to Madrid and attending to the dispatch of the most urgent orders.

Marshal Lannes, recovering from a long illness, had come to meet the Emperor in Spain and had followed the head-quarters for some days. As he was still unable to mount on horseback, the Emperor had placed his own carriage, which he did not use, at the Marshal's disposal. I accompanied the Marshal in this carriage. Before Napoleon left Valladolid, Marshal Lannes, who felt himself able to undertake more active service, was sent by the Emperor, who wanted to spare his strength, to take the superior command of the siege of Saragossa.

During our stay at Valladolid, I had the curiosity to pay a visit to the Dominican monastery which the Emperor had ordered to be suppressed because a French officer had been murdered there. In this refuge, consecrated to the patron of the Inquisition, I came across what I had scarcely expected to find there. Amongst the portraits of Saints which covered the walls of the cloister, I saw a picture, representing St. Napoleon, the head crowned with an aureole and wearing the costume of a Roman knight. In one corner

of the picture was a brief description in Spanish.

The Emperor during this short campaign of two months and a half had reoccupied Madrid and the neighbouring provinces, and had dispersed like dust the Spanish troops which had opposed his passage. These bands, after being defeated only went off to reassemble again thirty leagues away. At the same time these successes would have effaced the disastrous impression produced on the Spaniards by the catastrophe at Baïlen, if we had been able to follow them up. But their fruit was lost by Napoleon being forced to abandon Spain in great haste, to march against the Austrians who were invading Bavaria, without being able to return.

The Emperor left Valladolid for Burgos and rode this distance at full speed in some hours, by means of relays of horses which had been prepared in advance. He only stopped two hours at Burgos and rode on to Bayonne at such speed that his household could not follow him. He traversed the road from Bayonne to Paris with the same speed and on January 23rd was at the Tuileries.

On arriving at Paris, Napoleon without losing a moment, applied himself to making the necessary arrangements to be in readiness to meet the attack with which he was menaced. He gave orders that his corps and the contingents from the Confederation of the Rhine should hold themselves in readiness to begin the campaign. He sent Marshal Berthier off, to assemble the confederate troops on the Danube and to assume the command of the army for the time being.

A privy council was summoned a few days after his return to Paris. The Emperor who had well-founded reasons for displeasure with Prince de Bénévent, re-

strained his resentment as long as the council lasted. At last the dam burst. Napoleon who grew hotter and hotter as he spoke, under the influence of his indignation, lost control of his anger which was only awaiting the opportunity to break forth. He spoke to Prince de Bénévent with the greatest harshness. Thanks to his various sources of information the Emperor had heard things about M. de Talleyrand which perhaps justified the violent scene which was witnessed by certain members of the privy council. In the conversations which Prince de Bénévent had had, on various occasions, with Napoleon, concerning Spanish affairs, I had heard him quote the example of the Jesuits Malagrida and Alexander, and after having insisted on the necessity of the Emperor's presence in Spain, speak of the precautions which he would have to take to defend himself against the poison or the dagger of some fanatical monk. Napoleon felt quite sure that Prince de Bénévent, foreseeing the possibility either of such an event or of his death by means of the bullet of a *gucrillo*, which might strike him down on his triumphant march, had thought of the formation of a government council, the organization of which, in case of need, was quite ready to be carried into execution. The members of the future government had already been named. Nobody knew the reconciliation, which, with some object or other in view, had taken place between Fouché and Talleyrand. Napoleon, however, showed no resentment towards the former. The confidences and the remarks of M. de Talleyrand on the events in Spain, on the trial of the Duc d'Enghien, his disapproval of these acts and his denial of having taken any part in them were well known to the Emperor. The immobility of

the patient, the impassiveness of his features had provoked Napoleon's anger to the point that he forgot his imperial dignity and threatened Talleyrand with his fist. "And you dare," he cried, "you dare to deny the part you took in the condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien.* And you dare to say and publish broadcast that you had nothing to do with the affairs in Spain," and so on and so on. The paroxysm of this indignation having reached its climax fell by its own excess and Napoleon, tired of dashing himself against this impassive face, gave in. Prince de Bénévent knew the Emperor well and knew that it was in his nature, the more he had allowed himself to be carried away by his resentment, the more to try and have it forgotten. Talleyrand had no real feeling of dignity and so he deemed it a good thing to pretend to have forgotten this scene. There was a drawing-room at Court on the morrow, which happened to be a Sunday. One of the Ministers, the Duke de Gaete—Gaudin—who had been charged by the Emperor with some work that was wanted at once, had devoted this Sunday to finishing it. Remembering that Napoleon liked his Ministers to attend the Court regularly, he decided that he might sacrifice an hour in the accomplishment of this duty. The Minister of Finances, accordingly, went to the Tuileries early, with the intention of placing himself near the door by which the Emperor would enter, so as to be free to withdraw after having saluted him and to return to his work. The Minister arrived at the palace before anybody else and whilst the rooms were being lighted. He wanted

* Compare this with Méneval's statement (Vol. I, p. 267) that Napoleon never reproached Talleyrand for his connection with the murder of the Duc d'Enghien.—R. H. S.

to cross the Throne room and place himself where it would be easiest for him to make his escape as he had intended. What was his surprise to see Prince de Bénévent standing alone by the fireplace. A feeling of shame for the man who had so quickly forgotten the humiliation which he had undergone the day before, and his embarrassment at finding himself alone with him after the scene which he had witnessed, prompted the Duke de Gaete to go back into the adjoining drawing-room where he spent his time, waiting for the Throne room to fill up, so that he might cross it without coming face to face with Prince de Bénévent, in walking up and down. From the position where he had placed himself, he was the first to salute the Emperor and was free to retire. His curiosity, however, detained him. Napoleon, according to his custom walked round the room, holding his snuff-box, from which he frequently helped himself, in his hand, conversing with the persons who were standing in the front rank. On reaching the person who was standing on the left of Prince de Bénévent, who had remained rooted to the spot which he had occupied from the beginning, near the fireplace, the Emperor addressed some words to him, passed by Talleyrand with averted head and stopped before the person on the latter's right hand. On the following Sunday, without being in the least disconcerted, Talleyrand placed himself again in the Emperor's way and seeing his neighbour hesitate at a question put to him by Napoleon, answered for him, forcing the Emperor's attention. The ice having been broken in this way, Talleyrand took every opportunity of attracting Napoleon's attention, who in spite of the characteristic attributed to his countrymen,

was unable to bear a grudge, because the feeling of his own power and the superiority of his mind over petty passions rendered him naturally indulgent. Prince de Bénévent continued to frequent the *entrées* and was as assiduous as in the days of his favour. The Emperor, who on certain occasions was as severe in public as on the other hand he was indulgent and patient in his private relations, disarmed by so much patience or shaken in his conviction by so much assurance, never thought of forbidding access to his court to a man against whom he had not sufficient proofs to send him to trial, but who in Napoleon's eyes was sufficiently guilty to be removed for ever from all direction of affairs.

This anecdote, of which I heard the first part from members of the privy council, who were present at the scene which Prince de Bénévent had to undergo, was afterwards told me in detail by the man who of all men was most worthy of confidence, My lord Duke of Gaete, Minister of Finances under the Empire. May I be allowed since I have mentioned his name to add that the Emperor had no more devoted nor more skilful Minister than he, that no administrator was purer, more honest and more firm, that no man in his private capacity combined more solid and more amiable qualities, that he was good and affectionate, modest with dignity, enlightened without display, and a faithful preserver of those traditions of urbanity and politeness which unfortunately are becoming rarer and rarer every day.

In consequence of this scene Prince de Bénévent lost the post of Grand Chamberlain which was given to M. de Montesquiou. This was the time, indeed, of intrigues of every kind. The faubourg St. Germain

had to submit to the exile of Madame de Chevreuse and of several other people whom the Emperor recalled later on, excepting from this amnesty four or five of the most influential persons or those who most strongly persevered in active opposition. Some of these persons had excited Napoleon's anger rather by their sarcasms or spiteful remarks than by their acts. He might have disdained these impotent clamourings. He was strong enough to be able to do so. He used to revenge himself more nobly by granting daily restitutions and favours to members of the old aristocracy. Some members of the former reigning family even received pensions from him. The Duchess of Orleans, the Duchess of Bourbon and the Prince of Conti were living in retirement at Figuiéres in Spain, enjoying a moderate pension which had been granted to them by the Directoire, this pension being subjected to all the formalities exacted in the case of life annuitants. Napoleon on the request of General Canclaux, the warm and persevering friend of the Prince of Conti, increased the pension of each of these members of the royal family to sixty thousand francs which were paid to them at the residence which these princes had chosen, through the agency of a banker who was in account with the Treasury. These pensions were freed from all personal formalities. And consequently the princes whose names we have mentioned, never failed, as each year came round to send the Emperor their wishes for his prosperity.

The Emperor doubled these pensions during the Hundred Days and authorized the Duchesses of Orleans and of Bourbon to continue residing in Paris at the same time. They thanked Napoleon and Queen Hor-

tense, who had interceded for these princesses with the Head of the State, by letter.

A Madame Poitrine, nurse of Madame the Duchess of Angouléme and the nurse to the last Dauphin, whose name I forget, received pensions from the imperial munificence.

In removing to a distance from Paris the malcontents whose opposition became troublesome or harmful, Napoleon was not, as has been said, blindly dominated by a spirit of despotism which could brook no contradiction. Amongst the persons whose exile was proposed to him was the Duchess de Gesvres. When the Emperor heard that this lady was an octogenarian, pity silenced all desire for severity in his heart, and when he had further discovered that this duchess was a descendant of Dugueselin's, this name stirred within him the French fibre. Not only did Napoleon forbid that Madame de Gesvres should be interfered with in any way, but he had inquiries made as to the needs of her old age. To supplement her small fortune the Emperor insisted on granting to the descendant of Dugueselin a pension, the amount of which would allow her to keep a carriage.

Shortly after his return to Paris Napoleon went to live at the Elysée, a beautiful house which he had bought from Prince Murat when the latter, as the soldiers used to say, "had been promoted King of Naples." Murat received in exchange certain estates situated in the Kingdom of Naples which the Emperor had reserved for himself after the conquest of this country. The situation of the Elysée afforded Napoleon a pleasant and commodious residence. Here he was able to walk about in the vast garden attached

to this residence, without being importuned, and could go out without being noticed. He found himself delivered here from the pompous imprisonment which he had to undergo at the Tuileries, and only went to the latter palace on Sundays to hear the mass or for ceremonious receptions.

The Emperor had just settled down in the Elysée when he heard the news of the surrender of Saragossa. The remnants of the Spanish army which had been defeated at the battle of Tudela and various scattered corps, composing an army of about fifty thousand men, had shut themselves up in Saragossa, where protected by the walls and energetically seconded by the armed population, they defended themselves with a fanaticism which was kept alive by their leaders and by the monks. The city was not fortified, but was surrounded with a thick brick and granite wall which had been strengthened and covered with parapets. In the interior of the city the entrance to each street was barricaded and in a state of defence. The garrison was provided with numerous store-houses and armed with two hundred pieces of artillery. The commander-in-chief was General Palafox, who being shut up in Saragossa was elected captain-general. This man dear to the population, whose exaltation he shared, was moreover under the influence of skilful and fanatical monks. He had taken an oath to bury himself beneath the ruins of the city rather than to surrender it to the French. Gallows-trees, permanently standing, threatened the life of anybody who should dare to speak of capitulation. Marshal Lannes had come to take over the superior command of the siege on January 20th, three weeks after the trenches had been opened. One

of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, General Lacoste, seconded by Colonel Rogniat and Major Haxo, two officers who became famous, commanded the engineering works. General Lacoste met with a glorious death before Saragossa and was deeply regretted by Napoleon. Six days after his arrival Marshal Lannes stormed the city at the head of his troops. All the outer works fell into our hands, and the result should have been the surrender of the place, but the fanaticism of some of the most excited of the inhabitants inspired terror and froze the word, capitulation, on every mouth. Then began a war in the streets and houses, in the defence of which the women and the monks distinguished themselves by their resistance. The ground was fought for inch by inch, each house had to be carried by sap and by mine. Our soldiers, exposed to privations and dangers of every kind, were disgusted with this hideous warfare. The wretched inhabitants of Saragossa were decimated by hunger, disease, and by the losses which resulted from each encounter. Palafox himself was dying, but the monks and the clergy governed in his name. The taking of an important suburb, the destruction of the convents and principal buildings, which were used as places of assembly for the besieged soldiers rendered any continuation of resistance at last impossible. The council of defence, with the mad object of continuing the struggle, had asked for the free pass of officers commissioned to see whether the city could not be relieved. Marshal Lannes refused all conditions and demanded that the city should surrender at mercy. The French army occupied its ruins on February 21st after a siege, which has only been paralleled twice or thrice in

history and which had devoured more than half the population. The Marshal moved to pity, treated what remained of the town with the greatest humanity. He protected the inhabitants, their property, and the exercise of their religion. The garrison laid down arms and was made prisoner of war.—Travellers' narratives make mention of the inestimable riches of the cathedral of Our Lady del Pilar. On the entry of the French into Saragossa there were found none of the gifts in gold, silver, and precious stones which were said to have been sent there by Catholic sovereigns. These treasures had no doubt been used for the expenses of the siege or for expenses outside, or else had been removed before the invasion of the French. I remember having seen a little box brought to the Tuileries, containing specimens of fragments of ornaments, clumsily carved in open-work, in silver, silver gilt or copper gilt, set with some stones of small value. These *débris* came from the famous chapel of Our Lady del Pilar.

It was at the picture exhibition of this same year, 1809, that the Emperor wished to be represented in full length in his cabinet and gave orders that I should appear in the picture, writing from his dictation. The painter Garnier received the order to excute this portrait. I did not happen to be in Paris whilst the painter was working at it, for I had accompanied the Emperor on one of his journeys. The painter Isabey was good enough to make up for this drawback by helping Garnier with his memory and on my return to Paris Garnier asked me to sit to him so that he might give the last touches to his work. I do not know in what way it came to the Emperor's ears that the execution of this picture left a good deal to be

desired, but he ordered General Duroc to write on the subject to M. Denon, director-general of museums, who took the painter's defence. At last the picture was accepted and was placed in one of the galleries at the Tuileries. In 1814 it was relegated to the lumber room with all those which had for subject the history of "the usurper," or else it was given back to the author as were other pictures of the same kind which were restored to their painters. Found in 1839 at a picture-dealer's, by the son of one of my old friends, Count Lemarrois, he bought it, from attachment to the Emperor's memory and in remembrance of the friendship which bound me to his father.

At the beginning of the year 1809 the Emperor at last decided to fill the two places of secretary to the cabinet which had been created in 1804. One of the new secretaries was charged, amongst other functions with translating the foreign newspapers and periodicals and entered, though rarely, Napoleon's cabinet. This was Baron Mounier, auditor to the Council of State, who had been employed at the time of the war of 1806—1807 in the government of the province of Silesia. M. Mounier was the son of the deputy of the Constituent Assembly, whom Napoleon had recalled from exile and whose capacity and merit he had rewarded by appointing him, on his return to France, Prefect of Rennes, and afterwards by calling him to a post at the Council of State. The Emperor's esteem for the father descended upon the son, who was an intelligent and well-informed young man, of much promise which, later, he fully realized.

The second secretary to the cabinet, who was specially charged with all concerning artillery and

engineering, was Baron de Ponthon, at that time colonel of engineers. He had taken part in the memorable campaign in Egypt and enjoyed a well-deserved reputation in his branch of the service. This officer afterwards became lieutenant general and member of the committee of engineers.

The Emperor completed his cabinet later on by placing at the head of his topographical office, Colonel Bacler d'Albe, who afterwards became general. He was the author of the military map of Italy, was endowed with a most happy facility for the arts, and was animated with what Napoleon used to call the sacred fire. D'Albe was assisted by two geographical engineers of merit, MM. Lameau and Duvivier.

In forcing the Emperor to return at full speed from Spain, the coalition effected the objects it had in view, namely of preventing the pacification of this country and of dividing our forces. The Emperor heard, by telegraph, on April 12th, that Arch-duke Charles had entered Bavaria and that his troops had passed the Inn without any previous declaration of war. This declaration was only notified to the outposts on the morrow of the day on which the invasion had taken place. Napoleon left the Elysée on the 13th April at four in the morning. He passed on with unheard-of speed and reached head-quarters at Donawerth on the fifth day, after having stopped at Louisburg and Dillingen to see the Kings of Wurtemberg and Bavaria.

The Emperor found Marshal Berthier at Donawerth. He learned here that through a misunderstanding of his orders the communication between the corps of Bavarians commanded by Marshal Lefebvre and Marshal Davout's corps was cut off. New activity

was given to his genius by the necessity of repairing this fault. The battles of Thann and of Abensberg, won with the troops of the Confederation of the Rhine and the victory of Ecmuehl, which earned for Marshal Davout the title of Prince of Ecmuehl, bestowed later, were the results of these clever manœuvres. So rapid had been the movements that Napoleon's household had not been able to follow him, and that he had to live like a soldier, only riding borrowed horses.

I have often heard the Emperor complain of how inferior we were to the Romans. Yet, according to the best military writers, he had no reason to envy any one of the heroes of antiquity either for the rapidity of the marches or for the preciseness of the manœuvres which characterized the commencement of this campaign.

Two occurrences marked this victorious march. The first might have deprived the army of its leader. Napoleon was seated on a spot from which he could see the attack on the town of Ratisbon. He was beating the ground with his riding-whip when a bullet, supposed to have been fired from a Tyrolean carbine struck him on the big toe. The news of his wound spread rapidly from file to file and he was forced to mount on horseback to show himself to the troops. Although his boot had not been cut, the wound was a very painful one. Napoleon, however, put a good face on the matter, but nature would not forgo her rights. On returning from this short excursion to a small house which was at a distance of some gun-ranges from the spot where he had been wounded, his courage being exhausted he fainted right away. This wound had fortunately no evil consequences.

A feat of arms of unparalleled bravery, the taking by storm of the Ebersberg position, which was reputed inexpugnable, also marked this campaign. A wooden bridge of more than six hundred feet in length, protected by a stronghold and precipitous heights which were crowned by superior forces and a hundred pieces of artillery, was carried by General Coëhorn. * The gates of the city were broken down and a most violent encounter ensued. The houses in which a number of wounded soldiers and combatants had been driven back, without being able to escape, caught fire and were burned down to the ground with every man inside them. The sight presented by this unhappy city, with its streets strewn with corpses half-consumed by fire and spreading a fearful stench, was one of the most horrible that can be imagined. The Emperor was painfully impressed by it. He could not refrain from praising General Coëhorn for his rare courage, but he deplored the losses which would have been avoided if Marshal Masséna had given orders to turn this position.

The Emperor saw for a second time the city of Vienna whose sovereign had sworn to him in 1805, at the memorable interview at the bivouac at Sar-Uschitz, that he would war on him no more. This time Vienna tried to defend herself. Marshal Lannes had sent Captain Marbot, with a flag of truce, carrying a summons. The young aide-de-camp was attacked by a gang of ruffians, ill-treated and even wounded. Arch-duke Maximilian approved of the conduct of these wretches by allowing it to pass unreproved and kept

* One of the daughters of General Baron de Coëhorn married the eldest son of the author of these Memoirs.

the captain prisoner. After this violation of international law and the refusal of the Arch-duke to open the gates of the city, a bombardment was decided upon. It has been stated, in error, that Arch-duchess Marie Louise, being ill, had remained behind in the imperial palace. It has been added that on hearing this the Emperor gave orders that the cannons should not be fired in that direction. The human mind hankers too much after the belief that great men have a mysterious foresight of their destinies. Arch-duke Maximilian, frightened perhaps at the responsibility which he had assumed left Vienna hastily and crossed the bridges without leaving any orders. On May 12th a French army occupied Vienna after that city had capitulated, at the request of a deputation which was presented to the Emperor at Schönbrunn where he had taken up his quarters. Napoleon assured the delegates of his protection and promised them that the city of Vienna should be treated with the same consideration as at the time of the first occupation in 1805.

The Emperor remained a week at Schönbrunn. In the meanwhile the Island of Lobau, which is situated at a distance of two leagues from Vienna and which divides the Danube into several branches, was occupied by the French army with a view of establishing a point at which our troops could cross the river. Three bridges were thrown across it, thanks to which our army was able to commence to cross on May 20th, to attack the enemy on the left bank. But hardly had Marshal Masséna got into touch with the Austrian army when a part of the little bridges was broken. The Austrians, masters of the upper reaches of the Danube set loose large barges filled with stones and cannon-

balls, which borne along by the rapidity of the current, which had been increased by a sudden rising of the river, dashed against the bridges breaking them down in several places. The inferiority of strength of our fourth corps was compensated for by the heroic tenacity of Masséna and the impetuous courage of Lannes. The latter, separated from his corps by the breaking-down of the bridges, but impatient to take part in the action, marched at the head of the Boudet division, which he directed with the greatest courage. The two armies faced each other during the night. On the morrow the second corps, the guards and the cuirassiers were able to cross the bridges which had been repaired during the night. Marshal Davout's corps was to follow, as also the other corps as they came up. The battle of Essling which had been suspended the day before began again, and victory, the price of the most vigorous efforts, was just about to declare itself for us when the sinister report that the big bridge had broken down was suddenly spread. Anything beyond keeping our ground until the end of the day and returning at nightfall to the Island of Essling, became out of the question. This critical position was to be aggravated by the cruel loss which the Emperor and the army experienced in the person of Marshal Lannes. A spent cannon-ball shattered both legs of this valiant soldier. When the Emperor saw the litter on which the Marshal was being carried, his face overdrawn with the pallor of death, he ordered it to be carried to one side and walking quickly up to it threw himself upon the hero who was dying, and embraced him with choking sobs. The impression produced by this heart-rending scene cannot be described. The Empe-

ror's grief was so great that two days later, the remembrance of it still filled his eyes with tears in spite of all his efforts to conceal them. The Marshal transported to the village of Ebersdorf, died there a week later from the consequence of his terrible wounds.

In Marshal Lannes the Emperor had had a loss for which he could not console himself. He never wearied in his praises of the merits of one of his oldest comrades-in-arms. He used to express his astonishment at the way in which each year the Marshal developed his talents, his prudence, and his knowledge of the military art. Considered apart from his capacity as a soldier, the Duke of Montebello had an extremely original mind. A book could be made of the piquant, energetic and always expressive sayings which escaped him. It was he who said to M. de Talleyrand after the battle of Austerlitz, that victory had sharpened the points of the pens of diplomacy with cuts of the sabre. He used to say of Talleyrand's impassiveness that if he were to receive a kick in his seat of honour his face would not betray the event, and summed him up in this saying which is perhaps strictly true, if expressed in somewhat too military language: "It's a lot of.... mud in a silk stocking."

By way of an anecdote, I will speak of an accident which will appear the merest trifle compared to the misfortune which had just robbed the army of a glorious captain. I happened to be on foot, on the left bank of the Danube, in front of the bridge which communicated with the Island of Lobau, when I saw the Emperor come up and climb up on to the top of a mill-house to see what was going on. I was looking at him when I felt myself struck with a blow—it was a horse's

kick—which stretched me full-length on the ground. Napoleon saw me fall just as he was coming down from his point of observation, thought that I was dangerously wounded, and gave orders at once that I should be picked up and transported to the island. I had only been rendered rather dizzy by the blow so he reassured himself and said: "Get away as fast as you can. You gave me a great fright." I felt no consequences from this accident.

General Espagne, commanding the cuirassiers, was killed by a cannon-ball, and General St. Hilaire was seriously wounded. It was feared at first that we had to deplore the deaths of Generals Durosnel and Fouler but we had the satisfaction of learning that the first of these officers had not been wounded at all and the second only slightly. They had fallen into the hands of the enemy who sent them back to French headquarters after the battle of Wagram.

The troops who were shut up in the Island of Lobau, and especially the wounded, suffered great privations during the first days. Soon, however, stores of provisions and ambulances were established there. Instead of evacuating the island, the Emperor had works worthy of the Romans carried out there under the direction of General Bertrand. Napoleon spent twelve days at Ebersdorf, a village situated opposite the Island of Lobau, occupied with caring for the wounded and providing for the needs of the soldiers who remained on the island. The works were commenced under his eyes and he distributed the rest of the army into cantonments, after which he returned to Schönbrunn.

The indignation felt by the Emperor at the conduct of the Austrian general Chasteler in Tyrol, where seven

hundred French conscripts and eighteen hundred Bavarians had been massacred in his presence by the rebels, had prompted an order of the day providing that this general, in case he should be made prisoner, should be tried by court-martial and put to the edge of the sword. The Emperor of Austria having heard of his order, had declared that the Generals Durosnel and Fouler would be kept as hostages to answer for the way in which General Chasteler was treated. When this declaration was notified to Napoleon, he gave the necessary orders that the persons of the Princes Colloredo and Metternich as well as Counts Pergen and Hardeck who had remained in Vienna should be seized, and that, by way of reprisal, these persons should be conducted to France after their arrest. The Emperor at the same time authorized a deputation from the city of Vienna to go to the Austrian sovereign to enlighten him on the particulars of the massacre of French prisoners in Tyrol. Emperor Francis, better informed, retracted his order concerning the two French generals.

During the months of April and May the intrigues of the agents of England and of the coalition had been directed towards raising to insurrection the provinces in the North of Germany which had belonged to Prussia, or which had been dependent on this power. These provinces were filled with former soldiers, prisoners of war who had returned home or who had escaped from the last defeats. Katt, a Prussian officer, had assembled a large number of these persons, had seized on the public treasuries, and had cut off the communications, seeking to stir the country up to revolt. Pursued by the Westphalian troops he had succeeded in reaching Bohemia, where with the remnants of his

gang, he had joined the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, who was organizing a corps of volunteers for Austria. This prince, son of the last Duke of Brunswick—who had lost his life at the battle of Jena—wishing to avenge the death of his father and the ruin of his house, had made himself the leader of secret societies and of insurrections in Germany. He had given his corps a black uniform with the emblems of death.

Towards the end of April an aide-de-camp of the King of Westphalia, colonel of the light infantrymen of his guard, a certain Doernberg, at the head of a troop of smugglers and employés, partly military, partly civilian, which was increased by armed peasants recruited in Westphalia and in Hanover, had raised the standard of revolt and had marched on Cassel, hoping to surprise this city in a defenceless state and had then thrown himself back on Magdeburg. The activity and vigour which the young King of Westphalia, seconded by the leaders of his army, had displayed in dealing with this attempt at an insurrection had ended by getting the best of it. But Doernberg who had been reduced to flight in company with some officers had succeeded in joining the Duke of Brunswick, who was the soul of all these revolutionary movements.

Shortly afterwards, the Prussian major, Schill, former partisan in the war in 1806, marched out of Berlin at the head of five hundred hussars of his regiment on the pretext, as it appears, of manœuvres. He was joined by a battalion of infantry which had formed part of his corps of partisans. After fruitless attempts against the fortresses in the North of Germany he had drawn back on Westphalia to give a hand to the remainder of Doernberg's insurgents. Schill having

assembled the forces which he considered sufficient, tried a *coup de main* on Magdeburg and having failed marched on the lower Elbe. In the meanwhile the Duke of Brunswick was tardily entering Saxony to join the Prussian partisan. But the latter was approaching the Baltic to put himself in communication with the English fleet and to receive from it the arms and ammunition, which he lacked. Schill invaded Mecklenberg and, followed by five or six thousand men—Prussian and Austrian deserters—of Mecklenbergers whom he had enrolled, and a multitude of vagrants, had entered the city of Stralsund which he had fortified. General Gratien—I am not quite sure about the name of this general--with a Dutch division, backed up by a column of Danish soldiers, marched on Stralsund and carried its retrenchments by storm. Schill, to cover his retreat had wished to set fire to the city in which a stubborn street-by-street fight was fought. The whole band was taken or killed and Schill himself lost his life.

The Duke of Brunswick, on his side, had broken into Westphalia where he hoped that the people of his ancient duchy would flock under his banner, but he only succeeded in raising a few villages. Neglected by Austria who was sufficiently taken up with her own reverses, forced to flee by the troops which tracked him on every side, the Duke had to gain the sea-side with all speed, where together with the rest of his supporters he was received by the English fleet.

These attempts at insurrection necessarily found support in the anti-French spirit of the provinces whose situations and interests had been changed by our conquests. They were the preludes of a general insur-

rection in Germany, which was only realized much later, but which the coalition always hoped for. If the ill-arranged enterprises of Doernberg, Schill, and the Duke of Brunswick had taken place simultaneously, French domination in the North of Germany would have been seriously embarrassed at this time.

The French army in Italy, commanded by the viceroy, aided and stimulated by the splendid successes of the Great Army, had taken grand revenge for the reverse which it had experienced at the beginning of the campaign, a reverse which had forced it to retreat as far as the Adige. The battle of Pavia and several encounters in which the Austrian army, under the command of Arch-duke John lost half its forces, gloriously avenged the army in Italy for this defeat. The arch-duke, pursued at the point of the sword, got no breathing-time until he had crossed the frontier which separates Upper Italy from the Austrian hereditary States. The viceroy still on the heels of his adversary reached Bruck on May 26th, where he joined in with the Great Army. The appearance of the runners of the army of Italy on the Simmering was quite an event. The Emperor, who expected it, had sent Lauriston, his aide-de-camp to meet it. A chasseur of the 9th regiment of the army of Italy met with a chasseur of the 20th, sent to reconnoitre by General Lauriston. The two soldiers after having watched each other some time saw that each was French and fell into each other's arms. Prince Eugene arrived in Ebersdorf two days later where he received the Emperor's compliments which he had so fully deserved.

Arch-duke John had joined the army of the Arch-duke

Palatine, his brother. Prince Eugene marched to meet them and came up with them near Raab, a fortified town in Hungary. On June 14th, he attacked this combined army which exceeded the French forces by fifteen thousand men. The enemy was completely routed and lost six thousand men, killed and wounded, cannons and flags. Napoleon expressed his satisfaction to the viceroy for a victory which, won on June 14th, was honoured by him with the name of "Granddaughter of the battle of Marengo," which had been won on the same date, on this spot, eight years previously. On the 24th, our troops entered the fortified place of Raab, the garrison of which, two thousand five hundred men strong, became prisoners of war.

The Island of Lobau had become a large entrenched camp guarded by Marshal Masséna's corps, or rather I should say a fortified place defended by one hundred and twenty cannon of big calibre, by mortars and howitzers in batteries. Three large bridges had been built there of a solidity able to resist anything, which were protected by bridge-heads covering a space of more than sixteen hundred fathoms, composed of palisaded redouts and surrounded with ditches full of water. During the month which the Emperor spent at Schönbrunn he had made frequent excursions to Ebersdorf and had occupied himself with his usual activity in the reconstruction of the bridges as well as in giving orders for assembling round Vienna sufficient forces to be ready for an emergency. Napoleon's solicitude had been applied to the state of the hospitals which he had made his aides-de-camp visit. They had orders to put sums amounting to sixty francs for a soldier and twelve hundred francs for an

officer on the beds of the wounded soldiers and officers.

After the army had rested, the artillery had been reorganized and ammunition of all kinds had been got together, the Emperor left Schönbrunn and transported his head-quarters to Ebersdorf. On July 4th, the whole army was assembled in the Island of Lobau. On the night of the same day it marched out in perfect order which was not troubled by a fearful storm accompanied by a deluge of rain, crossing six bridges which had been prepared in advance, under the protection of strong stockades, and which had been thrown over the river in a space of two hours with admirable precision.

During this time I was shut up with M. de Champagny, Minister of Exterior Relations, in a room in the Emperor's lodgings at Ebersdorf where we awaited the result of the crossing of the river with keen anxiety. We listened in mute dismay to the peals of thunder which shook the ground and to the torrents of rain which threatened to drown us all, not knowing whether this riot of the elements would favour or impede the army's crossing. We heard at last, towards daybreak, of the entire success of this brave operation. A fine day had followed on this terrible night. The enemy deceived by false demonstrations on the other side of the river was astonished to see deploying in the plain of Enzersdorf, the imposing masses of one hundred and fifty thousand men, backed by four hundred pieces of artillery which had appeared as though by magic very far from the spot at which they were expected. On the evening of the same day began the attack on an important position, a combat which was the prelude to the great battle of Wagram which was fought on the morrow, the 6th. I spent this day in the

neighbourhood of the field of battle, riding about on horseback in company of the Colonels Czernitcheff and Gorgoli, aides-de-camp to the Czar, who had been sent to the Emperor and who found themselves at his head-quarters. These two officers were rather dissatisfied at not being called to form part of the Emperor's staff during the action. One of them said with a certain amount of vexation that it was no doubt on account of their white crests that they had been excluded.

On the evening of the battle I joined the Emperor's bivouac. Hardly had Napoleon reached it when a cry of "*sauve qui peut*" spread a panic, which fortunately was not of very long duration. A stray band of the enemy had come upon our outposts and had caused this affray.

The battle of Wagram was a murderous one. The Austrians lost twenty-five thousand men, and three of their generals were killed. Our losses were less important, but we also lost three generals including General Lasalle, one of the best general officers in our army. By a sinister presentiment of his approaching end General Lasalle had the evening before recommended his children to the Emperor's care in a touching letter.

Napoleon rode over the field of battle to have the wounded removed and attended to, which was a duty which he entrusted to nobody but himself. From time to time he would halt and order silence so that he might hear the groans of the wounded. He would ride in the direction of these groans, when he was not detained by having to attend to soldiers on the spot where he happened to be, or else he would send people with help. With this object in view he used to spread the men of his escort out in different directions.

Oudet, colonel of the 9th infantry regiment, who died in consequence of the wounds which he received in this battle, has been a great deal talked about. Lying rumours collected by the historian of the secret societies of the army and of the military conspiracies, have represented this colonel as the leader of these imaginary associations and describe him as having fallen a victim to a murder carried out by Napoleon's orders. The falseness of this calumny has already been easily proved, but its very absurdity should have sufficed for its refutation.

On the morrow of the battle of Wagram, the Emperor whilst visiting the corps and distributing the rewards which each had merited, met General Macdonald and stretched out his hand to him in sign of reconciliation. Macdonald, a friend of Moreau, had been for a long time in disgrace and kept away from the army. On his asking to be allowed to resume his service, Napoleon who esteemed his talents had entrusted him, during this campaign, with the command of the right wing of the army of Italy under Prince Eugene. He created him Marshal of France as well as Generals Oudinot and Marmont.

The victory of the French at Wagram had not destroyed the Austrian army, which in spite of the losses which it had experienced retreated in good order. It was on the 11th August only that Prince John von Lichtenstein presented himself at Znaim with powers to conclude an armistice and even to treat for peace. The armistice had been proposed by Arch-duke Charles in virtue of his unlimited powers. The Emperor of Austria, who had retired to Baden, refused to ratify this armistice and removed the Arch-duke from the

command of his army. Napoleon sent him the decoration of a simple Knight of the Legion of Honour. The Emperor Francis, better advised, accepted the armistice five days later, with the mental reservation that it would give him the time to reject it during the period fixed for its duration. The Emperor Napoleon after having distributed his troops over the districts designated by the treaty of armistice proceeded to Schönbrunn. Conferences were opened at Altenburg between M. de Champagny and M. de Metternich. The negotiation dragging, because the Austrian plenipotentiary, counting no doubt on the diversion which the English expedition in the island of Walcheren would cause, wanted to gain time, the Emperor summoned his Minister of Exterior Relations to Vienna. After long tergiversations to which Napoleon's firmness put a stop, peace was signed in his presence, on October 14th, by M. de Champagny and Prince von Lichtenstein who had taken Metternich's place.

It is very probable that the signing of the peace was hurried on by an event which produced a strong impression on Napoleon, though he tried not to let this be seen. One day in October, at Schönbrunn, whilst the troops were marching before him at noonday parade a young man tried to approach the Emperor. This person held a paper in his hands which was thought to be a petition. He was told to hand it to the aide-de-camp in attendance, who was General Rapp, but he answered that he wished to speak to Napoleon. As often rebutted so often he returned. This manner of insisting appeared suspicious, his decided though calm appearance, the expression of his eyes, his right hand which he held in his bosom, struck General Rapp's

attention. The General ordered him to be arrested and to be taken to the castle. All this was done without being noticed. It was soon known that a large kitchen-knife had been found on this young man, who was a student of the University of Erfurth, named Staaps. Asked as to what he intended to do with this knife he had no hesitation in declaring that he wanted to kill Napoleon. Informed of this fact, the Emperor on his return to the castle, ordered that the young man should be brought into the drawing-room where the Prince of Neufchâtel, Bernadotte and the Generals Duroc and Savary were present. Staaps approached the Emperor with a respectful but determined air. He admitted to Napoleon that he had come with the intention of killing him, although the French sovereign had done him, personally, no harm. He declared that he had the conviction that in killing the Emperor he should render a great service to his country and to Europe, and added that he was neither ill nor mad and that he had spoken of his plan to nobody. Napoleon had Doctor Corvisart, who was then at Schönbrunn, sent for, and asked him if he could not find any traces of madness in this young man. The doctor felt his pulse and declared that he could not find any symptoms of mental alienation in him. Napoleon struck by this fanaticism, and touched with pity for this precocious murderer, offered to pardon him if he would express his regret for the odious act which he had wished to commit. Staaps rejected any idea of pardon, and said that he regretted bitterly that he had not been able to carry out his plan. "But," said Napoleon, "you have a family whose ruin you will cause. You will fill the heart of the young girl who loves you with

despair. If I grant you your life will you be grateful to me for it?" "I will kill you none the less." The Emperor gave order that he should be removed, hoping that this young madman would express his repentance and make some revelations. Staaps remained three days without eating and as impassive as ever. He walked on foot to the place of execution crying: "Long live Germany. Death to the tyrant." Napoleon heard of his execution whilst on his way from Vienna to Munich.

By the public and secret clauses of the treaty concluded with Austria, this power ceded territories containing a population of three and a half millions of inhabitants, which for the most part fell to the lot of the kings and princes who were allied to France. Austria undertook by the secret clauses to reduce its army to one hundred and fifty thousand men during the war between France and England; to dismiss from the Austrian service all military, civil, and political employés who had been born in French provinces; and finally to pay a war-indemnity of eighty-five millions of francs.

An article of the treaty added a population of fifteen hundred thousand inhabitants to the Grand-duchy of Warsaw. To induce Russia to agree to this fresh step towards the re-establishment of Poland, a territory of four hundred thousand inhabitants which rounded off its frontier on the Ukrainė was ceded to this power which took part in the treaty. Russia took it over as cheerfully as she had done with the district of Bialistock, at Tilsitt, when this province was taken from Prussia, her ally. One might have thought that the Russian Government, sharing in the spoils wrested

from its allies, kept them back to be restored to them when circumstances should allow it, but the events of 1814 and 1815 occurred without Russia's ever dreaming of restoring her acquisitions.

The conduct of the Russian Government during this campaign seemed to justify the extension which was given to the Grand-duchy of Warsaw. Alexander had undertaken at Warsaw to declare against Austria in case she should again make war on France. Although Napoleon had no reason to expect that the Russian Cabinet would make any great efforts to free the provinces, which formerly had been Polish, and the successive emancipation of which might appear menacing in the eyes of Russia, which had taken a large part in the division, he still was authorized in considering himself discharged of all obligations towards the Emperor Alexander who had not kept the promises which he had made at Erfurth. Napoleon who had counted upon the effective co-operation of Russia, about equal to that which she had formerly tendered to her allies in the wars of the coalition, had just been completely disappointed on this point. The Russian contingent consisted of a body of fifteen thousand men, commanded by Prince Galitzin, who refused to concert with the French army in any way. The co-operation of this corps consisted in re-establishing Austrian authorities everywhere where they had been replaced by Polish authorities, and in seizing upon Cracow by surprise, to establish themselves before the Poles, to whom the Russians refused entrance. On Prince Poniatowski threatening to force his way in, the Russians agreed to occupy the town in common with the Poles. This attitude showed Napoleon how little he could

rely on the Russian alliance, but he hid his resentment. What would he have thought if he had known at the time the truth about Prince Schwarzenberg's mission to St. Petersburg? This *envoyé*, who afterwards became ambassador to Paris and negotiator for Napoleon's marriage with Princess Marie Louise and later on commander-in-chief of the united armies in 1814, had been charged to urge Russia to join Austria in the campaign which had just finished. Alexander, indeed, had refused these proposals, but not for the motive which he alleged to our ambassador at St. Petersburg; when the Czar spoke to the latter of his firm resolution to persevere in the Tilsitt alliance, and to co-operate by his efforts to repel Austria's unjust aggression upon his ally. Emperor Alexander's true motive was to gain time to prepare himself for the struggle which was inevitable in the future, but which at that time he was unable to support against us, owing to the remoteness of his armies, occupied the one in Sweden and the other in Turkey. It was this last motive, the only genuine one, which dictated Alexander's replies to the overtures of the Vienna Cabinet. This reply was not a defection on Russia's part towards Austria, for its sincerity could be tested in the Russian declarations which were expressed after Napoleon's fall. It cannot be doubted that if Russia had really wished to prevent Austria from making war against us in 1809, a simple declaration on her part to the Vienna Cabinet would have sufficed. Such was unfortunately the sincerity of Emperor Alexander's sentiments. The Mussulman does not consider himself bound by his promises to the unfaithful, and the united armies treated us, it may be said, as the Turks might have done.

The discontent on one side and on the other was strong, and the circumstance of Napoleon's marriage, about which I shall speak in its place, envenomed the already strained relations between France and Russia. The divergence of interests of these two powers, the moral obligation under which France seemed to consider herself to re-establish the kingdom of Poland, Russia's evident hostility towards such a project, all combined to conduct the Paris and St. Petersburg Cabinets, through a series of alternating squabblings and patchings-up, to an irreparable and open rupture.

A deputation of Hungarians had presented itself to the Emperor at Schönbrunn to beg him to take Hungary under his protection and to back up her efforts to separate herself from Austria. Napoleon had at the time conceived the project of placing the Grand-duke of Wurtzburg on the imperial throne, but made no fixed determination on the subject. The Hungarian revolution and the change of the Austrian succession were two enterprises which might have led him further than he wished to go, and he did not allow himself to be drawn on. These reasons and the fact that his absence had already been too greatly prolonged under doubtful circumstances, prompted him to sign the peace of Vienna which he did with but little confidence in his mind. Napoleon often afterwards blamed himself for his fault in leaving Austria too strong for future safety, and for not having taken full advantage of his success at Austerlitz when he might have taken or have annihilated the entire Russian and Austrian armies. He had not forgotten that the Austrians had asked for peace twelve years earlier, when the French were at Leoben, that whilst he was in Egypt Austria

had taken up arms again, that she only signed the treaty of Lunéville after having lost the battle of Hohenlinden, that she had begun war again as soon as she had seen us seriously engaged in making preparations for the expedition to England, that she had only signed the peace of Vienna after the battle of Austerlitz, that Emperor Francis had promised at the interview at Sar-Uschitz not to make war on France again, that this time Austria had once more hoped to surprise Napoleon taken up with the pursuit of the English army in the remotest parts of Spain, and that it was only after Vienna had been occupied a second time that the Austrian Government resigned itself to signing peace.

The English, on their side, seeing the Emperor seriously engaged in Germany and encouraged by the hope that the consequences of the battle of Essling would cause him serious embarrassments, attempted an expedition into the island of Walcheren, not indeed to serve their ally's cause but with the very English object in view of seizing upon the fleet at Antwerp and of setting fire to it, and of destroying the dockyards. Napoleon's foresight had assured the defence of this immense dockyard of our navy. At the first report of the invasion of the island of Walcheren, every class of citizen in the neighbouring provinces was aroused. Without awaiting orders from the Minister of War, men, horses, carriages, provisions, and fodder were offered to the functionaries of State, who had no difficulty in making a regular use of the same; the national guards hurried up. Marshal Bernadotte had been deprived of the command of the 9th corps of which he was the leader in Germany. The Emperor had sent

him back to France on the pretence of taking a cure at the waters. As a matter of fact the Emperor had been seriously displeased with him, because of his insubordinate and violent character, his boasting, and the order of the day by which he arrogated to himself the right of attributing the victory of the battle of Wagram to the Saxons who were a part of his corps, whilst in his letters he used to complain about their want of vigour and inactivity. This Marshal, well knowing that Napoleon would not have selected him to face the English, greedily seized upon the opportunity to impose and render himself indispensable, in spite of the Emperor, on this occasion. Helped by his friend Fouché, who said that Napoleon must be shown that the territory could be defended and the enemy driven out, without his help, Bernadotte succeeded in getting himself sent to Antwerp by the Minister of War. The English expedition had already failed in its object at the time of his arrival, but King Louis of Holland, who had undertaken the command of the operations out of zeal, seeing Bernadotte arrive, without having received any notice that he was being sent to take over the command in chief, returned to Amsterdam in a very dissatisfied state of mind. Bernadotte made a great deal of noise, but as a matter of fact did nothing more than Marshals Kellermann, Moncey, and Bessières who were very little talked about. The zeal of the officers of all branches of the service, the bravery of the troops and above all the devotion of the national guard and of the inhabitants, the vigorous measures ordered from Schönbrunn by the Emperor, and finally the utter incapacity of the English commander caused the total failure of this

gigantic enterprise. The English expedition forced to retire pitifully lost about a third of its men and its material. The unlucky issue of this important attempt brought with it the fall of the English Ministry. Each minister tried to discharge himself of the responsibility, and to shift it on to another of his colleagues, a dénouement which reminds one of Racine's epigram on the subject of the tragedy of Iphigenia the authorship of which two writers, Leclerc and Coras, claimed,

"But as soon as the piece had appeared,
"Neither one nor the other wished to have had anything to do with it."

I will allude, in connection with this campaign, to the solicitude with which the Emperor insisted that his regiments should be commanded by brave and well-educated officers. The proposals for advancement were submitted to him by the Minister of War. Napoleon charged one of his aides-de-camp, the one whom he considered best suited for work of this kind, to submit the results of this classification for his signature, and weighed each candidate's merits. As he was personally acquainted with each officer, his selections were carried out with discernment. Whilst with the army or when the various corps were passing through Paris, the Emperor used to hold frequent reviews, which were not mere empty parades. He used to cross-examine officers whom he did not know and would invite them to command and carry out manœuvres under his eyes. The manœuvres which were not in the usual routine used sometimes to trouble the officers who had made a special study of their profession. Napoleon obliged the officers with whom he was not altogether satisfied to study these manœuvres,

placing them under the supervision of the colonels and generals in command. He missed no opportunity to assure himself that they had profited by this completion of their military education.

Often whilst reviewing a *corps d'armée* or even on the field of battle the Emperor would pull up in front of a regiment and calling the officers around him would address each by his name. He would ask them to mention whom amongst them they considered most worthy of promotion or of a decoration, and then passed on to the soldiers. Such testimony delivered by the peers bound the various regiments together with the bonds of confidence and esteem, and these promotions, granted by the soldiers themselves, had all the more value in their eyes. In the course of one of these distributions of military rewards, which were like family scenes, an under-officer was designated to the Emperor as the bravest and the best. The colonel whilst agreeing that he possessed all the qualities necessary to make a good officer added that in rendering him this justice, he regretted that on account of a serious drawback he was unable to recommend him for promotion. "What is it?" asked Napoleon quickly.—"Sire, he can neither read nor write." "I appoint him officer, colonel, you will have him admitted as such."

During these reviews Napoleon used to inform himself of the wants of the soldiers, of the state of their accoutrements and equipments, of the quality of the rations and finally of the way in which the military regulations were carried out. Each soldier was authorized to leave the ranks and to address himself directly to the Emperor, presenting arms, to submit a demand

or to make a complaint. No request was ever neglected but was immediately answered. If the petitioner was worthy of interest his request was usually granted, unless it was of a nature to render an inquiry necessary. There is perhaps no example that indiscreet or unfounded complaints were ever addressed to the Emperor in this way.

In the course of one of the reviews which he held at Vienna Napoleon heard that certain regiments had received defective articles of clothing or of equipment, and that embezzlement had taken place in the supply of provisions and fodder. As information had been laid with him on this subject, he ordered that an inquiry should be held. The report having established that these complaints were well-founded Napoleon sent the papers to a court-martial before whom the culprits were brought for trial. They were condemned to death. The Emperor rejected all pleas for pardon, for he wished to make an example. This act of severity acted as a warning to other delinquents.

I remember in this connection that one day the Emperor entered his work-room in an excited state: "Just imagine," he said to me, "that I have just put my hand upon a man who robbed the army in Italy in a disgraceful manner. He had protectors under the Directoire, who assured him of impunity. Thanks to God I have found him again, and I mean to make a severe example of him." The said F—— had been a contractor for provisions during the first campaigns in Italy at the time when General Bonaparte was commanding the army. His conduct had given rise to the most serious complaints and he had been denounced to the Directoire as guilty of malversations and

infidelities in the supply of provisions. This contractor had escaped all prosecution, and since that time Napoleon had heard nothing more about him. I do not know in what way he was put on the scent of his re-appearance. He dictated me an order for his examination and confinement. But be it that this individual found the means of evading the vigilance of the authorities, or that Napoleon recoiled before the scandal of a trial in which people whom he did not want to ruin might be compromised, F—— once more escaped all punishment. My object is to show that Napoleon really objected to causing capital sentences, and that his personal inclinations prompted him to clemency, a virtue which in his case often resembled arbitrariness.

An event of the highest importance which occurred during the Austrian campaign was the forcible removal of the Pope from Rome. Apart from the questions which concerned the discipline of the Church, other discussions, which were to be brought to exploding point by the clash of temporal and political interests, had placed fresh stormclouds between the Emperor and the Pope. Since the Holy Father's return to Rome the enemies of France had worked upon Pius' vexation at not having brought back with him from France certain concessions to which he considered his condescension had entitled him. However it might be, Rome had become a hotbed of intrigues against the Empire. The influence of our enemies, and notably of England, predominated there. Summoned by Napoleon to close his ports upon the English vessels which were cruising in the Adriatic, the Pope had replied with a formal refusal, alleging that as the common father of all the

faithful he could not and should not enter into any league against any one of his children. This answer gave rise to interminable correspondence, which first of all tended towards a reconciliation, then became menacing on the Emperor's part, whilst on the part of the Pope it remained obstinate, invariably negative, and bearing the imprint of the ideas of the Gregories and Bonifaces, written in a language which was not that of the century. This language irritated the Emperor's patience, who saw each of his requests rejected by the Pope from whom he was able to obtain nothing. The discontent of the Roman Court against Napoleon blinded this government to the inequality of the struggle and increased in proportion to the impotent resistance which it opposed to this redoubtable adversary. One might have said that the Court of Rome wished to carry matters to extremes and to defy the Emperor. Napoleon then gave orders that Rome should be occupied, without any interference in the affairs of the pontifical government and with the greatest consideration for the Holy Father and his Court. This violent measure provoked the irritation of the Pope's counsellors to its extreme limits. The Papal Nuncio, immediately recalled to Rome from Paris, received orders to leave without taking *congé*. Rome raised its temporal and spiritual arms against France. The French General, in command in Rome, received orders in his turn to seize upon the government without interfering with the Pope in spiritual matters and to take measures for preserving the tranquillity of the country. The state of hostility became bitter. The Pope, having issued the bull of excommunication which he held in reserve, shut himself up in his palace, round which barricades protected

by armed men were placed. The agitation amongst the Roman population increased when lying reports had spread the rumour of the critical position in which, as it was said, the French army, found itself placed in consequence of the battle of Essling. The open opposition of the partisans of the Holy See became dangerous for the French occupation of Rome. A collision was to be feared which might place the person of Pius VII. in danger. The Pontiff, obstinately persisting in his voluntary captivity, deaf to the demands of the Governor-General, remained unable to calm the effervescence of the public mind. This functionary accordingly took it upon himself to remove the Pope from Rome, and in the night of July 6th—7th the Pope was kidnapped in his palace. Whilst this extreme measure was being carried into effect the Emperor was on the plains of Wagram. The ever-increasing obstinacy of the Pope in refusing what the Emperor asked of him, must have made Napoleon foresee that circumstances might arise which would make such an act of violence necessary. Napoleon, however, denied ever having given any order for kidnapping the Pope. He would have wished the Pope not to leave Italy so brusquely. But the Grand-duchess of Tuscany and the Governor-General of Piedmont, who had received no instructions in this matter refused to receive the Holy Father either at Florence or Turin. The Emperor did not wish to disavow the governor of Rome and could not and did not wish to send the Pope back to his capital. He accordingly gave orders that the Pope should be conducted to Savona, since he had passed Florence and Turin when this order reached its destination. The Pope, who was lodged

in Savona in the bishop's palace, was treated with the necessary respect and dignity.*

A general distribution of promotions and rewards took place after the battle of Wagram, on the Emperor's feast-day, which was celebrated at Vienna in all the army corps. The three principalities of Wagram, Essling, and Eckmuehl were created in favour of Marshals Berthier, Masséna, and Davout. The dignity of Marshal, as we have related was, moreover conferred on Generals Macdonald, Oudinot, and Marmont and the duchies of Gaete, Cadore, Otranto, Massa, Bassano and Feltra were given to Ministers Gaudin, Champagny, Fouché, Regnier, Maret, and Clarke.

At the same time the Emperor issued a decree creating an Order of the Three Golden Fleeces. Napoleon, whilst increasing his means for rewarding his brave soldiers, wished to eclipse the rival orders of the Golden Fleece which existed simultaneously in Spain and Austria and to resuscitate the order as it had originally been founded by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He hoped by means of this competition with the Spanish and Austrian orders to annihilate the latter in course of time. All French subjects would be forbidden to accept the orders of these two powers. The reunion of the conditions necessary for admission into the order of the Three Fleeces would have given the French order pre-eminence over the order of the Legion of Honour. In spite of the publication of the

* Cf. the very interesting work, entitled "*Le Pape Pie VII. à Savone*" by H. Chotard (Paris, Plon, Nourrit, & Cie.), written from unpublished drafts and letters from General Berthier to Prince Borghese, and from the unpublished memoirs of Herr von Lebzeltern, councillor of the Austrian Legation.—R. H. S.

decree of institution concerning this creation, nobody was appointed to the new order. Whatever may have been Napoleon's reasons for abandoning his first idea on this subject, the fact remains that he never spoke of it again. Another decree ordered the erection of an obelisk in Cherburg granite on the *terre-plein* of the Pont-Neuf, in Paris, bearing the inscription: "Napoleon to the French People." The principal feats of arms of the two campaigns of Jena and Poland were to be represented in bas-reliefs on the pedestal.

The Emperor made a mistake one day which might have had consequences untimely rather than dangerous. It was at Schönbrunn, if I remember rightly, after the signing of the peace with Austria, Napoleon had written to the Emperor of Russia and to the Emperor of Austria at the same time. He wanted, as a pastime, to place the letters in their envelopes, which were ready addressed for the purpose, with his own hands. After having sealed up one he carried it to the Austrian general who was waiting for the letter addressed to his sovereign. Before sealing up the other I took the precaution of looking at the envelope and noticed that it was addressed to the Emperor of Austria, the letter addressed to this prince had been placed in the envelope to the Emperor of Russia. A messenger was immediately sent off at full speed after the Austrian officer, who was carrying off the letter intended for the Czar. This *quid pro quo*, might, had it been repeated, have occurred under circumstances which might have had evil consequences. The Emperor saw this and became so circumspect that whenever he was tempted to close up some letter on which he meant to put his beautiful seals with his own hands,

he used to throw it away saying that he had been near placing me under some heavy responsibility.

One day at Schönbrunn, a lady in mourning, accompanied by two young children came to ask for a pardon which the Emperor was forced to refuse. This is what had caused this person's visit. A Mrs. Dombray or Combray—of Caen—had associated herself with certain people of good family, who were committing acts of brigandage of which the whole country complained, but who had the pretension of continuing the Vendée by robbing travellers and stage-coaches. This lady shared the spoils which were carried to the country-house which she lived in on the side of the road, with the thieves. Napoleon had given the strictest orders for the repression of these criminal attempts against public safety which were filling the department with consternation. Madame de Combray, arrested, had been found guilty and was condemned. A respite was granted her because the idea had been suggested to her to declare herself enceinte. In spite of the fact that this plea was known to be false, this lady took advantage of the respite to have her pardon prayed for. The Emperor, taken by surprise, having received no report on the appeal for mercy, nor any document which might help him to form an opinion, complained bitterly that the Minister of Police should grant passports which enabled people to come and take him by surprise at four hundred leagues from Paris leaving to him all the odium of refusing a pardon which he was not in a position to grant. An example moreover was necessary. He expressed to the relation of the sentenced woman, all his regret that she should have had to undertake so hard a journey in vain. He told her

that his Minister had supplied him with no information, adding that the nature of the crime in question did not, unfortunately, put it in his power to use his right of pardon. He concluded with a few words which showed the compulsion he was putting upon himself, and gave orders that his petitioner should be well treated. I quote this anecdote because people have tried to use it as a pretext for accusing Napoleon of inhumanity. The reader must decide on the point himself.

During Napoleon's stay in Vienna, the inhabitants were the victims of a famine which was caused by the action of the Austrian authorities in forbidding any provisions to be sent into the town, because the French soldiers would have made use of them. A deputation, which the Emperor had authorized to visit the Emperor of Austria to obtain the recall of this order, had returned without obtaining any immediate satisfaction. Napoleon, touched by the distress of the Viennese, paid a visit to the suburbs and, together with the Intendant General of the army, took measures for diminishing the sufferings of the inhabitants. The winter coming on, he authorized the poor of Vienna to help themselves to wood in the imperial forests. We saw files of people passing loaded with stacks of wood which they had cut in these forests, for several days. Napoleon tried to preserve people, as far as lay in his power, from the evils of war.

In 1809, the Emperor had again fallen in with at Vienna, the celebrated singer Crescentini, who had been the delight of the Italian theatres. He remembered with pleasure, that formerly at Milan Crescentini had sung cantatas intended to glorify the triumphs of the French army. Although this clever singer was no longer a young man, Napoleon attached him to the

imperial orchestra and sent him to Paris with a salary of thirty thousand francs. From this time on, Crescentini gave up singing on the stage. When age and infirmities had weakened his voice, the Emperor appointed him professor to the Bologna conservatory, where he was ordered to write a book on the laws of his art. At the same time Napoleon created him a knight of the Order of the Iron Crown. It was not only with a view of rewarding his musical merit that the Emperor accorded him this distinction to which his title of professor gave him a claim. In decorating Crescentini, Napoleon had another purpose and was trying an experiment, for he wished to decorate Talma with the Legion of Honour. A foreign distinction awarded to a professor of singing in Italy, the classical home of music, a favour justified by superior merit, was likely to excite less opposition there than in France. At the same time this nomination was generally criticized in Italy and the Emperor was forced to admit that great as was his power, it had its limits. Napoleon saw himself forced to draw back before this manifestation of public opinion, but he regretted that this scruple, praiseworthy in its principle, prevented him from honouring a great artist like Talma, who was endowed with unrivalled talents and whom he held in high esteem.

Corvisart, first doctor to the Emperor, came to Paris during the 1809 campaign. His presence at headquarters gave rise to the belief that Napoleon was dangerously ill, a circumstance which specially attracted the attention of the English Government. Corvisart's journey had not been caused alone by a slight indisposition on the Emperor's part, caused by the fatigues of the campaign, but which neither prevented him from

riding on horseback nor from holding reviews. The doctor, impelled by curiosity and the interests of science had asked permission on his side to come to Vienna. He wished to visit the medical establishments of this capital and to make the acquaintance of the celebrated Doctor Franck who was first doctor to the Emperor of Austria. Numerous cases of dysentery having declared themselves in the army which it was feared might degenerate into an epidemic, Corvisart's advice became very desirable. I remember that the Emperor jested the doctor on a danger to which the latter had exposed himself whilst visiting the battle-field of Wagram, where, it is said, he approached a shell which, though the battle had taken place several days before, had not yet been extinguished.

Immediately after signing peace Napoleon left Schönbrunn to return to France. Before leaving he gave orders that the fortifications of Vienna should be destroyed. He remembered how he had been twice stopped before the walls of this capital and, pre-occupied with the idea that he might have to come there a third time, thought of the serious embarrassment which an energetic defence of the city might cause him. Such threatening leave-taking struck dismay into the hearts of the Viennese, who considered themselves humiliated by a precaution, which, ordered after peace had been signed, appeared to them to be dictated by a spirit of revenge and rancour.

Napoleon went to await the Emperor of Austria's ratification of the peace at Nymphenburg, where he spent two days, and took leave of the King of Bavaria after having received this ratification. He stopped one day at Stuttgart, passed through Strasburg without

stopping and spent some hours at Jeand'heures, near Bar, under Marshal Oudinot's roof. On October 29th the Emperor arrived at Fontainebleau at nine in the morning, without having been announced. Empress Josephine, not having been told in time, was not there to receive him, Napoleon made this a pretext for showing some bad temper. He seemed to wish to prelude the painful declaration which it was in his mind to make by some subject for discontent. As a matter of fact his mind was fully made up on his divorce from Josephine. He prepared himself exclusively for it whilst at Fontainebleau where for three weeks he held a large and brilliant court.

On his return to Paris, on November 16th, Napoleon heard that the ex-Queen of Etruria, who had retired to Nice, with her son, a young child, on the pretext of ill-health, was giving herself up to intrigues of all kinds. She used to write to the English Prince Regent to offer to employ her influence with the Spanish prisoners in cantonment in the depots in the South of France. She wrote to this prince of the embarrassment which her presence in Spain would cause to the French. The ex-Queen was mistaking matters. There was danger for her alone. The Emperor, not wishing to leave an element of disturbance which might add fresh complications to the state of affairs in Spain, in the hands of the English, gave orders that she should be conducted to Rome. She was placed in a convent of which a Princess of Parma, her relation, was the abbess. Napoleon informed King Charles IV., at that time in residence at Marseilles, of what had happened, and pointed out to him what steps had been, as a measure of prudence, rendered necessary by his daughter's ill-considered conduct.

Before approaching the great event of the Emperor's marriage and divorce, it may be well to pass in rapid survey the state of our affairs in the Spanish peninsula. Austria's declaration of war, in forcing Napoleon to leave Spain, had served the coalition better than the untimely rising of the Spaniards. Napoleon's absence was sadly felt in the Peninsula, where our military operations were characterized by a want of *ensemble* and harmony. Brilliant successes had been achieved but had not been followed by any decisive results. A want of unity in the command and the dissensions of the Marshals amongst themselves prevented the fruits of these victories from being gathered in. To remedy this bad state of affairs, Napoleon replaced Marshal Jourdan in the functions of major general to King Joseph, by Marshal Soult, who was younger and had more experience in making war in the Emperor's own fashion. As to Portugal, she had been abandoned. Military operations were being carried on with more success on the East. General Suchet, appointed commander to the army of Aragon, had restored discipline, abundance, and victory. The taking of the fortified places of Aragon and Catalonia and the occupation of Valentia won this general the *bâton* of Marshal and the title of Duke of Albuféra.

It is sad to have to add that Ferdinand, on hearing of the victories which had been gained over his countrymen, who formerly had been his subjects, addressed to the Emperor, in his and his brother's names, the most obsequious congratulations, couched in the most humble expressions and protested his sincere respect for and blind submission to the imperial will.

CHAPTER IV.

Thoughts of Divorce—Arguments in favour of a New Marriage—Fouché's Strange Behaviour—Secret Interview with Emperor Alexander—Three Marriages Under Consideration—Empress Josephine's Anxiety—The Ice is Broken—Napoleon's Generous Feelings for Josephine—Portrait of this Princess—Noble Conduct of Her Children—Reasons for Annulling Napoleon I.'s Marriage—Senatus Consultum Annuls the Civil Marriage and the Officiality of Paris Breaks the Religious Ties—Farewell Scenes—The Emperor at Trianon—His Visit to La Malmaison—His Return to Paris—Prolonged Hesitation of Russia—The Austrian Ambassador is Approached on the Matter Indirectly—Austria's Proposals Accepted—Choice of the Arch-Duchess Marie Louise—Signing the Deed of Betrothal—The Emperor Francis' Four Wives—Education of the Austrian Princesses—Marie Louise's First Feelings on the Subject of the Marriage—Her Brothers' and Sisters' Hatred for the Name of Napoleon—Three Months' Stay in Paris—His Occupations and Amusements—The Allied Sovereigns Summoned to Paris—King Louis of Holland Hesitates about Going—Establishment of the State Prisons—La-Salha—Rome United to the Empire—Amenities of the English Press—Napoleon's Respect for Etiquette—His Autograph Letter to the Emperor of Austria—Visit of the King and Queen of Bavaria to the Tuileries—Arrangements Made by the Emperor for His Marriage—Prince Wagram Sent to Vienna—His Reception—Civil and Religious Marriage—Banquet—Unusual Respect with which the Ambassador is Treated—Napoleon's Care for the Dignity of France—Departure of the New Empress from Vienna—Regrets of the Viennese—Popular Emotion—Emperor Napoleon's Complaints—Measures Taken Against the French who had become Austrians—The Marriage Does Not Re-establish Harmony Between the Two States—The Austrian Oligarchy—Backward Glances at the War which Preceded the Marriage—Secret Policy of the Vienna Cabinet—Projects of Coalition—Napoleon's Confidence in His Powers—Pozzo-di-Borgo—Particulars About Him—Protection Accorded to Him by the Marquis of Wellesley—The Empress' Arrival at Strasburg—The Emperor Awaits Her at Compiègne—Exchange of Letters between the Two Spouses—Preparation for the Reception of the Empress at Soissons—The Ceremonial Decided Upon is Not Carried Out—Arrival at Compiègne—Portrait of Marie Louise—Departure for St. Cloud—The Emperor's Decision Upon the Crown to be Used at the Coronation—Civil Marriage at St. Cloud—Public Rejoicing—Solemn Entry into Paris—Religious Marriage—The Absence of certain Cardinals from the Ceremony is Noticed—The Magnificence of the Fêtes—Presents from the City of Paris—Marie Louise's dowry is Paid into the Public Treasury—Return to Compiègne—Particulars About the Empress' Household—The Lady Ushers in Waiting and the Mistress of the Wardrobe—The Empress' Privy Purse—Enthusiasm with which the Poets Celebrate the Marriage—Fêtes Given at Valançay by the French Princes—Baron de Collay at the Castle of Valançay—Importance of the State of Affairs in Spain—Project of a Journey to Belgium—Reasons for this Journey—Napoleon Complains about the Dutch—Unsuccessful Diplomatic Negotiations—Discussion Between the Emperor and the King of Holland—The Occupation of Berg-op-Zoom and of Breda—Cession of the Dutch Frontier—The Emperor's Letter to King Louis—Departure from Compiègne—Visit to the St. Quentin Canal—Stay at Antwerp—Enthusi-

astic Reception of the Empress—Excursion to the Islands of Zealand—Stay at the Château of Laecken—Return to St. Cloud by way of the Northern towns, the Sea-coast, and Rouen—Pleasure Taken by the Emperor in this Journey—He is Accompanied by a part of His Family—The Grand Duke of Wurtzburg and the Austrian Ministers—Fêtes given in Paris—Prince Schwarzenberg's Ball—Empress Josephine at La Malmaison and at the Aix Waters in Savoy—Lucien Asks to be Allowed to Retire to America—Canova Once More in Paris—He is Ordered to Make the Emperor's Statue—The Emperor's Liberality towards the Academics of Rome and Florence—Disappearance of Mr. Bathurst—Kindness Shown by the Emperor to His Widow, and to certain British Subjects—Refusal of Prince de Bénévent's Offers of Service—Return of King Louis and the Queen to Holland—Anecdote—Abdication and Flight of King Louis—He Returns to Toeplitz—Bitter Complaints of the Emperor on this Occasion—M. Decazes' Mission—Instructions Given to M. Otto—Holland United to the Empire—The Hereditary Prince Recalled to France—Words Addressed to Him by the Emperor—The Arch-treasurer Appointed Governor General of Holland—King Louis Retires to Gratz.

SINCE 1792 Europe had been making war on France—a war of extermination—and France had come forth victorious. The bitterness of her enemies, far from crushing her, had rendered her great and powerful. The Emperor thought that a marriage with a foreign Princess would calm the anxiety of the powers; which would then no longer have reason to fear revolutionary propaganda; that this tie would enforce the acknowledgment of his glory; would diminish the dangers of the retrocessions which France would be obliged to make when universal peace was established, and in one word, would become the means of a lasting peace. He foresaw also that the want of a natural heir would after his death hand the empire over to rival ministers, as had formerly happened to the Empire left by Alexander the Great. Nevertheless, Napoleon hesitated for a long time before breaking the union which was endeared to him by long standing and true attachment. Politics, the future peace of the world, imperiously commanded the accomplishment of his design. His age forbade him from longer hesitation. Some have said that he was prompted by the vain desire to mix

his blood with that of the royal houses; but it may be asked what reasons he had to envy them, either in greatness or in genius, or in power. * If vanity there was in his action, if in this matter Napoleon showed himself open to human weaknesses, it had very little voice in determining his resolution. The assiduity with which the ruling families in Europe sought after an alliance with him by marriage did not raise the merit and value of such an alliance in his eyes, though it was a further guarantee of the advantages which he looked for from it.

Some time previously Fouché had taken the opportunity, without being authorized to do so, † to approach Empress Josephine on the necessity of a divorce, and to spread the report that a divorce was imminent. Napoleon had severely reprimanded him, not only because he had come to no definite decision on the

* However this may be it is an established fact that already in 1807, Napoleon had made up his mind to marry a princess of one of the royal families of Europe. A list of marriageable princesses with their ages, was drawn up by his orders and may still be seen at the National Archives in Paris. This list begins with Marie-Louise of Austria (aged 16) and ends with Louise-Charlotte of Denmark (aged 18 years, 9 months). It includes Marie-Amélie, niece of the King of Saxony (aged 13 years, 8 months) and Anna-Paulowna, sister of Emperor Alexander of Russia (aged 12 years, 11 months), besides princesses of Bavaria, Spain, Hesse-Rothenburg, Portugal, etc., eighteen young ladies in all. See also the *Mémoires de Lucien Bonaparte*, (Vol. III, pp. 82 et seq.) which proves how long ago Napoleon had determined to rid himself of Josephine.—R. H. S.

† This statement as well as that contained in De Méneval's note which follows are erroneous. There can be no doubt that Fouché *was* commissioned by Napoleon to approach Josephine on the matter. Napoleon's indignation was feigned as was also the reprimand referred to. As Metternich wrote to Count Stadion in describing this incident as well as a second interview between Josephine and the Minister of Police: "No Minister here dares to do anything which he has not been ordered to do by the Emperor. Not one of them would run the risk of offending a second time in this respect. It is therefore clear that Napoleon does not wish to appear to have given orders."—R. H. S.

subject himself, but because he was anxious to spare the unhappy Princess premature grief, and did not wish to leave her under the continual menace of a separation which was painful for both.*

When, on his return from Fontainebleau, at the end of 1809, Napoleon had made up his mind to open this serious question, he allowed the Empress to suspect the separation which he was planning, only a few weeks before the time when this very painful sacrifice had to be accomplished, not in an outspoken manner, but rather by dropping hints which gave her cause for reflection. This man, whom many people have long considered as pitiless, dreaded the sight of tears and of affliction, against which as a matter of fact he was always defenceless. I have often seen him—after certain scenes of jealousy caused by Josephine's suspicious affection—so troubled that he would remain for hours in his workroom given up to silent emotion, and unable to resume his work. Napoleon had retained from his early education, family feelings,

*Since the end of the year 1807 Fouché had tried to sound public opinion on the eventuality of a divorce, and put forward the idea of a marriage between Napoleon and Grand-Duchess Catherine of Russia. He knew of the Emperor's repugnance at the thought of separation from a loving and devoted wife; but was anxious to get the merit of forcing his hand, and spoke to various people of the divorce as a thing decided upon, and in the end presented himself to Josephine as the official agent in the matter. The Empress, dumbfounded at this overture, believing Fouché to have been sent by the Emperor, answered with sorrowful resignation, that no sacrifice would be too great in her eyes to obey her husband. Napoleon, who knew nothing about these proceedings, one day found Josephine in tears, and obtained from her the confession of what Fouché had said. Indignant at such audacity, he sent for the minister, and treated him as he deserved to be treated. He would then and there have dismissed him from the ministry if he had had anybody else ready to take his place. Fouché got Murat and the Emperor's brothers to calm his resentment.

and simple ways of life, which in his case were united with the highest political capacities.

Since the interview of Erfurth, time had matured Napoleon's project of a divorce. The cordiality which seemed to reign between the Czar and himself familiarized him with the idea that a family alliance would strengthen between them the intimacy which held out the prospect of great advantages. M. de Talleyrand asserts that he was commissioned by Napoleon to sound the Emperor Alexander on the subject. However this may be it is certain that in the course of one of the familiar conversations between the two Emperors at Erfurth, Alexander offered Napoleon the hand of the Grand-duchess Anna. Napoleon bound himself by no engagement, but he had felt pleased and flattered by this offer, which remained a secret between the two sovereigns.

When, towards the end of 1809, on his return from the Wagram campaign, Napoleon made public his decision to seek for children in a new matrimonial alliance, since he could expect no posterity from his marriage with Josephine, his first thoughts were for an alliance with the princess of the Russian Imperial House. Whilst commissioning his representative in St. Petersburg to approach Emperor Alexander in a confidential manner in this matter, two other princesses—one, the only daughter of the King of Saxony, the other, the eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria—were in his mind. Although his desire to have children as soon as possible threw weight into the scale on the side of the Princess Augusta; or Arch-duchess Marie Louise, who suited him better, on account of her age, Napoleon still hesitated. The agreement of

his political views, with his personal inclination for Emperor Alexander, and the remembrance of the offer made by this Prince at Erfurth, decided him to take up again the proposal, to which he had given no definite answer, and to prefer a marriage with a Russian Princess. It was about a week after the minister of Foreign Affairs had written in a confidential manner to the Duke of Vicence, our minister at St. Petersburg, charging him to open the subject of the marriage in a categorical manner to Emperor Alexander, when Napoleon made up his mind to break his silence towards Empress Josephine. The minister's letter had been ciphered by himself, and was to be deciphered by the Duke de Vicence alone. Since the insinuations made two years before by Fouché to the Empress, and although this mischievous marplot had been publicly disavowed, Josephine could not help seeing that, sooner or later, she would have to pay for the misfortune of not having given an heir to Napoleon with the loss of her rank. It was the general topic of her conversation, either with me, from whom she hoped to gather some information, or with those with whom she could speak in confidence. But after the Emperor's arrival at Fontainebleau—where, as we have read, he returned after the Wagram campaign—new signs confirmed her suspicions, and made her foresee that the storm might break at any moment. An unaccustomed coldness, the closing of the doors which communicated between their two apartments, the shortness of the rare moments which the Emperor devoted to his wife, certain passing outbursts provoked by the most trifling causes, which troubled this family, usually so peaceful, the arrival

in turn of the allied sovereigns whose presence she was not able to understand, inspired the Empress Josephine with the keenest anxiety. So cruelly was she troubled that she was constantly applying to me. I could only answer her in an evasive way, my part became an embarrassing one, and in order to escape from the unhappy Princess's questions, I was obliged to avoid her. But my perseverance in escaping from what I may call her importunities appeared to her more significant than words, and her anxiety reached its highest pitch. When by hazard she was able to keep the Emperor with her for a moment she did not dare to touch on this question for fear that the fatal sentence should fall from his lips. Such a state of things could not be greatly prolonged. Its result had been to strain the relations between the two spouses to a point which was downright torture for both. The Emperor was at last unable to bear it any longer, and one evening, after the most silent and sorrowful of meals, he broke the ice. It may be imagined what was the grief and despair of the Empress Josephine at the moment when her last hope was taken away. Napoleon freed from an insupportable load was deeply touched by the grief which he was causing, and from that moment never ceased to surround her with every care, and to lavish upon her words of comfort, which Josephine in her despair at first listened to with indifference, but which touched her in the end. Napoleon sent for her children Hortense and Eugene, and committed their mother to their care, assuring them of the continuance of his paternal affection and protection. After having calmed the first transports of her grief, Josephine bore her sacrifice with a force of character

of which one might not have thought her capable, and resigned herself to this misfortune for which there was no remedy. From that day she was seen no more at court. She, however, came out of her voluntary retirement on two subsequent occasions, once to be present in a pew at Notre Dame at the *Te Deum* which was sung for the Peace of Vienna, and once to accompany the Emperor to the Mansion House to the fête which the City of Paris gave on that occasion. With the exception of these two circumstances she spent, hiding in her apartment, the fortnight which passed between the moment when this cruel revelation was made to her, and the day when the divorce was pronounced. However painful this fortnight must have been for both, it seemed a terribly short time to Josephine, who could not accustom herself to the idea of the loss of her rank, and above all of being separated from Napoleon, whom she dearly loved. The Emperor soothed the last hours of their married life by acts of the kindest consideration and respect, caring for the future of the wife whom he was leaving, advising her, and meeting her every wish.

Josephine had an irresistible attraction. She was not a woman of regular beauty (she had that grace which is more beautiful than beauty's self, as our good La Fontaine used to say); she had the soft *abandon*, the supple and elegant movements, the graceful negligence of Creole women. Her temper was always even. Good, and kind, she was affable and indulgent to everybody without exception of persons. She was not a woman of a superior intellect, but her exquisite politeness, her great familiarity with society and court

life and their innocent artifices, always taught her at a moment's notice what to say and do.

The Emperor had loved her much, and retained for her a feeling of affection which had been strengthened by custom and her own affectionate qualities. One would have said that she was born for the part which her elevation in rank at Napoleon's side forced her to play. The partner of his fortune, she had admirably seconded him with the ascendency of her grace, her gentleness and her goodness. She was the wife of his glory as much as the wife of his person, for she had wedded his glory as much as she had wedded his person. Although she was a total stranger to politics and affairs of government she had, as far as lay in her power, won over to Napoleon the favour of the various political parties. She was fond of luxury, and extravagant perhaps more than her spirit of charity should have warranted; for her extravagance often made it impossible for her to satisfy her charitable tastes. I may add, however, that on frequent occasions Napoleon very generously made up to her the deficiencies caused by her habit of spending money too readily.* There was a charm and a delicacy about her way of obliging people, or of thanking them for a service, which won all hearts. In her misfortune she showed a resignation which never failed her; what rendered her sorrow almost too heavy for her to bear was the inflexible necessity of having to separate from the Emperor. He never neglected her.

* In the *Mémorial de Ste Hélène* Napoleon, comparing his two Empresses writes, "The first (Josephine) never asked her husband for anything, but had debts on all sides; the second (Marie Louise) did not hesitate to ask when she had no money left, which was a very rare occurrence; she could not imagine buying anything without paying for it at once."—R. H. S.

Prince Eugene and Queen Hortense showed a nobility of sentiment and a dignity under these circumstances which are greatly to their honour—their devotion was admirable. They helped their mother to keep up courage, and yet, whilst lavishing their tenderness upon her, did not forget their duty to their adopted father. Queen Hortense had been summoned to the Tuileries, and arrived there at the moment when the Emperor was returning from having conducted, or rather having helped to carry, Josephine to her rooms. Accompanying her to the door of her mother's apartment the Emperor said to her, "Go, daughter: keep up courage."—"Oh, Sire! I have courage," she answered, barely able to utter the words for her tears and sobs.

Prince Eugene told me at Vienna that in the first interview which he had with his mother in Napoleon's presence after the divorce had been decided upon, Empress Josephine had asked for the Crown of Italy for her son, that he (Eugene) did not wish to receive anything except from the Emperor's kindness, fearing that this favour might be considered as the price of his mother's divorce, and had begged her not to insist on this request, that the Emperor, touched by his reserve, had assured him that he did very well to trust himself to his tenderness.

The marriage of Napoleon with Empress Josephine had been declared null by the Senatus Consultum, * and

* Dated Dec. 16th, 1809. This servile act was conceived as follows:

Article I.

"The marriage contracted between Emperor Napoleon and Empress Josephine is dissolved.

after some time the officiality of Paris severed the religious ties. The deed of the civil marriage contained clauses of nullity which would have been enough to justify a divorce. As it was revolting to the Emperor to make use of this means, he would not allow these points to be put forward. The two witnesses had been M. Calmalet, the friend of the Beauharnais family, and Captain Lemarrois, General Bonaparte's aide-de-camp. The latter was not of age for, born in 1776, he was barely twenty years old in 1796, at the time of the marriage. The age of the two spouses had not been correctly stated. The whole proceedings had been marked with the irregularity which was the natural consequence of the time at which the marriage took place. The birth certificates of neither had been asked for, or at any rate had only been casually examined. In the register General Bonaparte was described as having been born on February 5th, 1768; as a matter of fact he was really born on August 15th, 1769. This made some people suppose that Napoleon was born before Corsica was ceded to France. Was the reason that this date was so given the

Article II.

"Empress Josephine will retain the titles and rank of a crowned Empress.

Article III.

"Her jointure is fixed at a yearly revenue of two million francs on the State Treasury.

Article IV.

"All arrangements which may be made by the Emperor in favour of Empress Josephine on the funds of the Civil List, must be observed by his successors.

Article V.

"The present Senatus Consultum will be transmitted by a message to H. I. and R. H."—R. H. S.

carelessness of General Bonaparte's solicitor, or did the General himself wish, by adding eighteen months to his age, to make it more on a level with that of Madame de Beauharnais, who, on her side, reduced her age for the same purpose? None of Napoleon's brothers was born on the 5th of February.

After the sorrowful and imposing ceremony, which unloosened the bonds of a union, which, had Josephine been fruitful, would have lasted as long as their lives, she who till then had been Empress went down to her apartment. The Emperor re-entered his study, sad and silent, and let himself fall on the sofa where he usually sat, in a state of complete depression. He remained there some moments, his head leaning on his hand, and when he rose his face was distorted. Orders for the departure to Trianon had been given in advance. When it was announced that the carriages were ready, Napoleon took his hat and said, "Méneval, come with me!" I followed him up the little winding staircase which communicated between his study and the Empress's apartment. Josephine was alone, and appeared wrapped in the most painful reflection. The noise we made in entering attracted her attention, and springing up she threw herself on the Emperor's neck sobbing and crying. He pressed her to his bosom, kissing her over and over again, but in the excess of her emotion she had fainted. I ran to the bell and summoned help. The Emperor, wishing to avoid the sight of a grief which he was unable to assuage, placed the Empress in my arms as soon as he saw she was coming back to consciousness, ordered me not to leave her, and withdrew rapidly by the drawing-rooms of the ground floor, at the door of which his carriage was

waiting for him. After the Emperor's disappearance, women who entered laid her on a couch and did what was necessary for her recovery. In her confusion she took my hands and earnestly prayed me to tell the Emperor not to forget her, and to assure him of an affection which would survive any and every event. She made me promise to send her news of him on my arrival at Trianon and to see that he wrote to her. It seemed to be difficult for her to allow me to depart, as if my departure would break the last tie by which she was connected with Napoleon. I left her, grieved at so deep a sorrow and so sincere an affection. I felt very miserable all along my route, and I could not help deploring that the rigorous exactions of politics should violently break the bonds of an affection which had stood the test of time, to impose another union full of uncertainty.

On my arrival at Trianon I informed the Emperor of what had happened after his departure, and gave him the messages with which I had been entrusted. Napoleon, who was still under the impression of the scenes of the day, spoke at great length of Josephine's good qualities, and of the sincerity of her affection for him. He considered her as a devoted friend, and always retained an affectionate remembrance of her. The same evening he wrote her a letter to comfort her in her solitude. Hearing from those who saw her at La Malmaison that she frequently cried, he again wrote to her, * complaining tenderly of her want of

* "Savary tells me that you are still weeping. That is not right.... I want to hear that you are gay. Unless I hear that you are cheerful and contented, I shall come and give you a good scolding." The preceding quotation is an extract from the letter referred to.—R. H. S.

courage, and telling her how much he suffered by the separation. It was at Trianon that began the official negotiations of Napoleon's marriage, which of course could not be commenced without it being certain that Napoleon's offer would be accepted. The marriage with the House of Saxony, which presented no difficulties, was dropped after careful examination, and in consideration of the dependent position of this State, which could be of no use, and would be rather an embarrassment in case of war. There remained then the Russian marriage, and the Arch-duchess of Austria. The latter was reserved in Napoleon's secret thoughts. The Emperor spent a week at Trianon in unusual idleness, trying to amuse himself with shooting and hunting. He went to visit at La Malmaison the lady who a few days before had been his wife. On the eve of his return to Paris he wished to receive her at dinner at Trianon with her daughter the Queen Hortense, and having noticed that this palace was not sufficiently protected against the cold authorized Empress Josephine to go to the Elysée, there to wait the conclusion of the necessary arrangements for her definite establishment there. Josephine was obliged shortly afterwards to leave for the Château de Navarre in consequence of the imminent arrival of the new Empress.

Recalled to Paris by public affairs, Napoleon was surprised at the solitude of his palace, no longer animated by Empress Josephine's presence. He felt the want of the domestic life to which he was accustomed, and this void was not always filled by the cares of government which, by reason of his growing activity and foresight, which overlooked nothing,

were constantly multiplying. In the meanwhile the answer from St. Petersburg was delayed, and Napoleon began to suspect that this delay covered a hidden refusal.* The pretexts given were the question of a difference of creeds, and the necessity of consulting the Dowager-Empress and of overcoming her objections.

In the course of January M. de Metternich had dropped a hint in the course of a conversation with General Narbonne, who having no instructions to answer him on this point, had allowed the insinuation to pass unnoticed. It became necessary to ascertain whether the Court of Austria was disposed as in the past. The first steps with this object in view were made to the Austrian ambassador by MM. Delaborde and Sémonville, in the course of a conversation in the drawing-room with the Secretary of the Austrian ambassador, whose name was Floret. These gentlemen spoke as if on their own initiative, so that the Emperor, not being in any way bound by what they said, should be at perfect liberty, in case of need, to refuse any responsibility for their statements. This suggestion which was eagerly seized upon by M. Floret, seemed to confirm what was already known of the friendly state of mind of Austria.

On the other hand, and almost at the same time, letters came from Russia which did not satisfy the Emperor who was not in the least blind to the real reason of the delays of the Russian Cabinet. Other considerations which made Napoleon hesitate were

* Caulaincourt had at first given the Czar *two days* in which to come to a decision on the question of Napoleon's marriage with the Grand-duchess Anna Paulowna. The matter being one of some importance, Emperor Alexander was perhaps justified in exceeding this period.—R. H. S.

the age of Princess Anne, who was not yet of an age to marry; and, supposing the difference of religions to be a genuine objection, the fact that he would be forced to admit Russian priests, and all the intrigues they would bring with them into the interior of the Tuileries Palace. Did the Emperor's feeling of his dignity allow him to renounce the friendly disposition of Austria, to wait until it might suit the Czar and the Dowager-Empress to make up their minds? Such an attitude would have exposed him to the laughter of Europe. Napoleon made up his mind at the right moment, and showed on this occasion, as on a hundred others, that no one better than he knew how to make use of his time. He saw that the Duke de Vicence obtained nothing from Emperor Alexander but evasive answers. In order to avoid being reproached with frivolity and inconstancy and to ascertain exactly how matters stood, Napoleon wrote directly to the Russian sovereign. In this letter he told the Czar that after a series of delays which without any plausible motive were prolonging his state of uncertainty, he could no longer delay from obtaining a clear answer, which would put an end to this equivocal state of affairs. Alexander's answer arrived at last. It was full of flattering protestations; he expressed his desire to multiply the bonds which attached him to the Emperor Napoleon, but left matters exactly where they were after the first overture. Napoleon judging that his own dignity and that of the nation would be compromised by waiting any longer took upon himself the initiative of refusing the marriage. He had taken care before doing so to assure himself of the entire co-operation of Prince Schwarzenberg, Austrian Am-

bassador to Paris, who vouchsafed the disposition of the Court of Austria. From this moment Napoleon's choice was made in favour of the Arch-duchess. He called together a Privy Council to examine to which of the three marriages, that is to say, the Russian, Austrian, and Saxon alliances, preference should be given. The three questions were freely discussed at the Council, the Emperor listening with the greatest attention to the various opinions for and against these different plans, but did not express his private feelings on the matter. It was only on the evening of the same day that Napoleon signified his decision to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Prince Eugene was charged with the mission to carry the formal announcement to Prince Schwarzenberg, Austrian Ambassador, with whom an appointment was made on the morrow for the purpose of offering the Arch-duchess's hand. The marriage contract was signed in the evening. The Duke de Cadore's first despatch to the Duke de Vicence, referring to the proposal of marriage, was sent off from Paris on November 24th, 1809. It is true that at the time it reached its destination Emperor Alexander was away from St. Petersburg. On January 10th, 1810, the Duke de Vicence asked for a definite answer within a period of ten days. This answer had not yet been given on the 6th of February. Emperor Napoleon—who has generally been represented as a man who would brook no delays, who would have any plan carried into execution as soon as it had been made—had nevertheless been waiting for two months and a half for the solution of a question of capital importance, and the immediate solution of which was of the highest importance to himself.

The Princess whom the Emperor had chosen was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Francis who, until 1805, had been Francis II., the Emperor of Germany. After the creation of the Federation of the Rhine which changed the organization of the German States, this Prince had taken the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, a title which since then he has retained. This sovereign was married four times. His first wife, a Princess of Wurtemberg, whom he married at the age of twenty, died two years after marriage. His second marriage was with Maria Theresa, daughter of Ferdinand the Fourth, King of the two Sicilies, with whom he lived in a union which the harmony of their tastes rendered a very close one. There may be seen in the Imperial Palace in Austria, and notably in the Park of Laxenburg small farms, where the illustrious couple delighted in forgetting their rank and giving themselves up to the pleasures and occupations of a country life. It was from this second marriage alone that the Emperor Francis had any children.

The first was Marie Louise, formerly Empress of the French, succeeded, in the following order, by the late Arch-duchess Leopoldine, who was Empress of Brazil; Arch-duke Ferdinand, who became Emperor; Arch-duchess Maria Clementina, wife of Prince Leopold of Salerno; late Arch-duchess Caroline, who married Prince Frederick of Saxony; Arch-duke Francis Charles, who married the daughter of the late King Maximilian of Bavaria; and finally by the Arch-duchess Marianne, whose eccentricities have kept her away from the court and which probably stood in the way of any marriage.

The Emperor Francis' third wife, whom Napoleon

knew, was the Princess Maria Louise Beatrice d'Este, who was her husband's cousin. She was fond of literature, her favourite author being Augustus La Fontaine, a German author of French origin, who is looked on in Germany as the founder of his school. The new Empress exercised great influence over her husband from the beginning of their married life, an influence which was somewhat to the dissatisfaction of the Emperor's brothers. She hated the French with a hatred which she had inherited from her father. Her life was cut short by her bad health; the Imperial Palace used frequently to resound with the cries torn from her by violent attacks of a nervous disease. She died in 1816, barely twenty-six years of age, leaving the Emperor Francis a widower for the third time. Some surprise was expressed when he married for a fourth time in the same year with the second daughter of the first marriage of King Maximilian of Bavaria. This princess had been married before to the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg, who, in his turn, had become King. Having been divorced from her husband, she had retired to the house of her eldest sister, the wife of Prince Eugene Beauharnais. She lived there in great retirement, apparently forgotten by the world, and certainly not foreseeing the destiny reserved for her: an Imperial Crown in compensation for the Crown which she had lost.

The history of Empress Marie Louise's first years is the history of all the Austrian Arch-duchesses, whose education is almost invariably the same. Brought up under their parents' eyes until the day of their marriage, these princesses live in absolute retirement from the court with their women and servants whom, as a rule, they treat with familiar kindness, and whom

they even allow to share in their games. Their education is conducted by governesses who are present at the lessons given to them by professors. The grand mistress of the Arch-duchess Marie Louise was Countess Colloredo, and her governess was Countess Lazanski, a woman of merit, greatly devoted to her pupil, who on her side was extremely attached to her. Marie Louise's education had been a very careful one indeed. She knew several languages—even Latin, which is currently spoken by the Hungarians. Already at an early age she had made great progress in music and drawing. She painted in oil colours, and on her arrival in France took lessons from Prudhon, one of our best painters; but she was forced to give up painting because the smell of the oil and of the colours affected her disagreeably.

The most minute precautions were taken to preserve the young Arch-duchesses from any impressions which might have soiled their innocence; a praiseworthy object no doubt, but the means employed to secure it were not always very judiciously selected. A spirit of bigotry, and exaggerated scruples were harmful rather than useful. Instead of preventing the Princesses from reading books which contained passages likely to pervert their minds—mutilated books, in which pages, lines, and even single words had been cut out with the scissors, were placed in their hands. A censorship so clumsily exercised could have no other result than one opposite to that which was hoped for. These passages which would be passed unnoticed had they been allowed to remain, were interpreted in a thousand ways by the young minds, all the more ready to suppose all kinds of things because their curiosity had

been excited. The harm which it was intended to prevent was thus brought to their notice, and even increased. On the other hand it happened that the Royal pupils had nothing but indifference for their books, which after the mutilations which they had undergone had become in their eyes soulless bodies, totally lacking in interest. The Arch-duchess Marie Louise, after she became Empress, used to confess that the absence of these passages in her books had aroused the greatest curiosity in her, and the first thing that she did when she became free to read what she chose, was to look up the passages which had been cut out of her schoolbooks so as to see what her parents had wished to hide from her. Shall I add that domestic animals of the male sex were never allowed to enter their apartments, that the only pets they were allowed to have were females, because these were less likely to offend the sense of decency?

This system of education, which was still in practice during Marie Louise's childhood, has probably since then been modified. My remarks apply moreover only to the childhood of the Arch-duchesses who in their youth received developed education, and had for their masters, professors chosen from amongst the most distinguished writers and savants.

The Arch-duchess Marie Louise, at the first overtures made to her on the projected marriage, with the Emperor Napoleon, considered herself almost as a victim who was to be sacrificed to the Minotaur. She has frequently told me that she grew up, if not in hatred, at least with very hostile feelings against the man who, on more than one occasion, had put the house of Hapsburg on the brink of ruin; who had

forced her family to flee from their capital, and to wander from town to town in the midst of the confusion and consternation which are inseparable from a hasty retreat.

The favourite games of her brothers and sisters consisted in setting up in a row a troop of little wooden or waxen figures, which represented the French army, at the head of which they put the blackest and ugliest figure. They used to stab it through and through with pins, and heap insults on its head, thus revenging themselves on this inoffensive leader for the treatment occasioned to their family by the redoubted chief against whom the efforts of the Austrian armies, and the thunderbolts of the Cabinet of Vienna dashed in vain. Brought up to passive obedience Marie Louise was forced to resign herself to the fate which was to be hers. Accustomed to look upon the Princesses of her family as instruments of the greatness of their house, and as destined to avert the storms which threatened it, she did not consider herself the victim of a sacrifice, but contemplated the part which she was called to play not without pride. From that moment she sought to know the man about whom, until then, she had avoided thinking except with hostility. Her former prejudice against him was dispelled by what she heard of his private qualities, of the happiness which he had given to Josephine, and of the love which was borne to him by the French. She left Vienna with the wish to please Napoleon; her subjugation was completed when she had got to know his character. At the time when she spoke to me, in 1813, she felt a real affection for the Emperor, and was sincerely attached to his destinies. It was her dream to be able to go one day with him on a visit to her family, and see

once more the delightful surroundings of Vienna, dear to her from the memories of her childhood.

The Emperor had spent about three months in Paris, during which period he had awaited the issue of the negotiations entered upon in St. Petersburg. Then, pledging himself to Prince Schwarzenberg, he gave orders that the deed of betrothal for the marriage of the Arch-duchess Marie Louise be drawn up. The Duke de Cadore and the Ambassador of Austria affixed their signatures. Napoleon appointed by decree, at the same time, the gentlemen and ladies who were to compose the household of the new Empress, and at the same time he despatched to Vienna, on extraordinary embassy, Prince de Neufchâtel, to wed the Archduchess in his name. During this period of waiting Napoleon, unable to remain quiet in one place, paid visits to La Malmaison, went to spend two days at Grignon, at the house of the widow of Marshal Bessières, and then went on to Rambouillet. On his return home he sent Queen Caroline, his sister, with an escort of honour to the frontier to receive the illustrious bride.

The sovereigns allied to the French Empire, the Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, Holland, Naples, and the Viceroy of Italy had been summoned to Paris. King Joseph, detained in Spain by the most serious troubles, could not come to join the royal procession. He did not come to France until the next year, on the occasion of the christening of the King of Rome. The King of Holland had consulted his council on the question whether it would be right to sanction by his presence in Paris his submission to the onerous measures imposed by France on the Dutch Kingdom. The ministers and the grand officers of the crown pronounced

themselves in favour of the journey to Paris, and advanced as their reason that marked opposition might be of danger to Holland. The King yielded to this wise advice, which was contrary to his private inclination. He was taken up with the idea that he would be detained in Paris, that use would be made of his name to authorize orders which he would be unable to disavow afterwards, and that advantage would be taken of his absence to occupy Holland. He agreed with his ministers that any writing which did not end up with a word which was agreed upon, and was to be written in Dutch, would be considered as of no value by them. After having left general instructions to the council of ministers as to the government of his country during his absence, King Louis left for Paris. Before his departure he had given written orders to the commanders of the fortress in Brabant that no foreign troops should be admitted into the interior of the fortress without a written order, signed by himself.

Amongst the number of home affairs which at this time were taking up the attention of the Emperor must be mentioned the establishment of the state prisons. Discussed in the council of state, the decree which instituted these prisons is dated March 5th, 1810. Although this measure was surrounded with precautions and guarantees, which were intended to soften down its arbitrary nature, and although as a matter of fact, in practice these prisons were only used in a spirit of moderation, I will undertake not to defend, but simply to explain the system. At the time when the measure, of which we are speaking, was adopted and regulated it was one of the vexatious but inevitable

consequences of the Imperial dictatorship, at a time when the earthquake caused by our civil trouble was still making itself felt. Without entering into particulars of the arrangements and regime of these state prisons I will say that they were only used for men whom the government could not bring to trial before the ordinary tribunals, and who could certainly not be left unpunished—such as the *Chouans*, battening on civil war, plotters of the murder of the Head of the State, or agents in conspiracy for upsetting the throne; or fanatical or immoral priests. I will add that nobody could be imprisoned in these state prisons without a decision emanating from a privy council, which was composed of the First President and Procurator General of the Court of Cassation, as well as of men who occupied a high position in the administration; and no persons could be detained for more than a year without a fresh decision from the privy council; that the prisons were visited by two Councillors of the State each year, who thereupon presented a report to the council in assembly; that one fourth of the votes was sufficient to set a prisoner at liberty; and that, what is more, the Imperial Procurators had equally a right to visit the prisoners and assure themselves that they had been arrested and were being detained in virtue of a decision of the privy council.

It was in one of these State prisons—Vincennes—that a young Saxon named Lasahla, had to be locked up. Lasahla was arrested in Paris in the month of February, 1811, whilst watching his opportunity to murder the Emperor. He carried several loaded pistols, and declared that such was his guilty intention, and that were liberty to be offered him on the condition

of abandoning his plan it would be impossible to him not to try and find a means for carrying out his object. On the Minister of Police presenting a report, the Emperor dictated the following words, which were written on the margin: "This man's age is his excuse" —he was eighteen years old--"no man is criminal at so young an age, unless born in crime. In some years he will have changed his ways of thinking, and we should be sorry to have inflicted on an estimable family a bereavement which will always be more or less of a disgrace. He must be sent to Vincennes, and receive such medical attention as the state of his brain would seem to necessitate. Books must be given to him, and his family must be written to, and then let time do its work." This young man stayed at Vincennes until 1814, when he was freed by his countrymen. It appears that neither time nor captivity had ripened his intelligence, for he was again arrested during the Hundred Days at the doors of the Legislative Chamber on the very day when the Emperor was opening the session. Detected by the explosion of a packet of fulminating powder, which went off in his pocket, Lasahla was arrested, but almost immediately released. Napoleon would not allow any inquiry to be made as to what was Lasahla's object in providing himself with this chemical, the effect of which was more menacing than murderous. Lasahla remained in Paris until the month of August, 1815, when he went to the Charité Hospital, suffering from a slow nervous fever which led him to commit suicide very shortly after leaving the hospital.

Preparations for his marriage did not divert the

Emperor from political affairs. During the Pope's stay at Savona, Napoleon had offered to conduct him back to Rome if the Holy Father would undertake to recognize the new state of things established in this capital, and would consent to occupy himself with none but spiritual affairs. His Holiness refused. Remaining in his position as a prisoner and as a persecuted man, the Pope counted on inspiring that interest which is always attached to the oppressed. The Emperor, on the other hand, could not fail to expose himself to all the odium which attaches to that *rôle* of oppressor which he had not hesitated to assume in the eyes of Europe. But Napoleon, too accustomed to break down all resistances, supported with impatience the bonds which the Court of Rome imposed upon him. Cardinal di Pietro, to whom Pius VII. had left powers in case of need, was sending apostolic vicars into the vacant dioceses, and was corresponding with the members of the different chapters. The Pope, by means of his bulls, was seconding his representative in this campaign. Napoleon tired of the troubles which the eternal opposition of the superior clergy caused him, seeing the Pope absent from Rome determined to free himself by one stroke of all his difficulties with the Pontifical court. He made up his mind to bring down, at no matter what cost, a resistance to such invincible obstinacy that its determination could not be foreseen. He cut the Gordian knot which he had been unable to untie, and like Charlemagne, whose successor he considered himself, he caused to be issued in the month of February, in the year 1810, a senatus consultum by which the annexation of the Pontifical states to the French Empire was pronounced, and the temporal

powers of the Pope regulated. A palace was assigned in Paris and in Rome, or in any other part of the Empire which it should please him to reside in, with an annual revenue of two million francs, thus ending this regrettable religious struggle with a Pope who was gentle, a man of good intentions and for whom the Emperor personally had a liking.

About the same time Napoleon ordered the publication, in the *Moniteur*, of a remarkable reply to the King of England's opening speech in Parliament, which was followed by numerous documents relating to Spanish affairs in which the correspondence of the Spanish Bourbon Princes was largely drawn upon.

Whilst occupied in these various matters, the Emperor received one day from some smugglers a packet of English newspapers which were sent to him by the Minister of Police. Before sending them to the translation bureau, he ordered me to look over them, and pointed out to me the Paris correspondence. What was his surprise and mine, on reading that Bonaparte, being seated one evening in his cabinet, had summoned a young secretary, called Méneval—in whom, it was added, he had all confidence—and told him to hold the light whilst he read a passage; that this secretary had put the light which he held in his hand so close to Napoleon's head that it had caught fire, and that, imagining that an attack was being made on his life Bonaparte had seized a pistol—which he always carried about him—and had discharged it point-blank at his secretary, who had been killed on the spot. It was further reported, amongst other pleasant things of the same kind, that Napoleon had flown into a passion on some slight pretext with Maret, State

Secretary, had rushed upon him, knocked him down, and, seizing him by the hair, dragged him on the floor; that shortly afterwards, ashamed at his passion, he had ordered him to sit down and had dictated to him a decree by which he bestowed upon him a gift of a large forest estate. At the time of the planned invasion of England there had been published all along the English coast, a description of Bonaparte, physically, as well as morally, as a man of hideous appearance and character. This description had been printed in large letters by all the English newspapers; such were the shameful means by which the English public was being duped.

The echoes of the English press and the drawing-rooms of the Faubourg St. Germain, repeated these absurd stories about Napoleon's brutal manners, not only towards the persons who approached him, but also towards honourable foreigners, and towards the sacred person of the sovereign Pontiff himself. Time, which does justice to errors, and bad faith, has reduced these contemptible inventions to nothing. Even when most displeased Napoleon never gave way to ridiculous passion. Great as was his dignity, and greatly as he commanded respect in public audience and under solemn circumstances, so greatly was he easy, familiar, frank, and gay in private life. An active benevolence which sprang from his heart, as much when he was vexed, as when he was pleased, was felt by his own people, by his ministers and by his officers, and his servants. In short, very often his graciousness and his favour went out to seek first some and then others at times when they least expected it.

The Emperor having provided for current affairs

on all business which demanded his special attention, prescribed the necessary arrangements for the arrival of the new Empress at Compiègne. Although it is a rule that all letters exchanged between sovereigns must be autograph, the fact that the Emperor could not write legibly had led to the tacit understanding that his letters should be written by a secretary. However, under the extraordinary circumstances of his marriage, Napoleon wanted to write to his future father-in-law, Emperor Francis, in his own writing. But it was a terrible business for him! At last, having taken a lot of pains, he succeeded in writing a letter which was fairly legible. He told me to rectify the badly written letters in such a way that my corrections should not be too noticeable—such as the forming of the letter e, and the dotting of the i's. I did my work as best I could, and sent off, addressed to "His Majesty, Sir, my Brother, The Emperor of Austria"—a letter which this sovereign must have been able to read with ease, and which may possibly have made him think that his son-in-law did not write very badly when he chose. Of course he never knew what trouble it had caused the writer. I remember the King and Queen of Bavaria having come in one day to the Emperor, asking to see the apartment which was intended for the new Empress, Napoleon treated them with a familiarity which altogether pleased the King. He wished to spare them the trouble of leaving the drawing-room in which he had received them, and of going down the grand staircase to the ground floor, on which was the Empress's apartment. He accordingly conducted the foreign sovereigns across his workroom, and led them down a small winding staircase which

communicated with this apartment. This staircase was no longer lighted, because the apartment was no longer inhabited. It was, moreover, so narrow that the King of Bavaria, who was a very fat man, had the greatest difficulty in walking downstairs, and had to turn sideways. Both the King and the Queen were rather surprised at finding themselves in the dark, and when the bottom of the stairs was reached, to make matters worse, the door was found to be locked. Great was our embarrassment. I was walking in front of their Majesties, the Emperor was following me, then came the Queen, and last of all the King. It looked as if the Emperor had drawn them into an ambuscade, and had this occurred in the Middle Ages what sinister thoughts would have filled the King and the Queen! The King of Bavaria cried out that if it were known in what a position Napoleon had placed his guests, people would be very much surprised. However, we got out of it by turning right-about-face and going upstairs again in the reverse order, and the visit to the Empress's apartment was put off until another day. The King remembered this trifling occurrence and did me the honour of speaking about it a long time afterwards, saying that whenever he thought of it, he felt inclined to laugh. A draft of the marriage contract had been sent to the French Ambassador at Vienna, together with full powers for signing the diplomatic convention. The minister was Count Otto, who had negotiated the preliminaries of the Peace of Amiens, and who had been French Ambassador at Munich during the war of 1805; and in the accomplishment of these various missions his zeal had been rewarded by praises which Napoleon by no means lavished. It was thanks to

his care that certain difficulties raised by the scruples of the Emperor of Austria and the Archbishop of Vienna on the validity of Napoleon's divorce, were smoothed over. The Emperor of Austria signed the marriage contract on February 16th, and, on the 27th, M. Otto exchanged ratifications of this contract with Count Metternich. The Emperor himself had made the arrangements for his marriage. He sent to M. Otto the list of presents which were to be made at the moment when the Arch-duchess was handed over to the French mission sent to receive her at Braunau. These presents were similar to those which Louis XV. had made on the reception of the Dauphiness at Strasburg.

Napoleon wanted everything to be done with magnificence. He expressed the desire that if it were thought necessary to choose one of the Arch-duchess's brothers to marry the Princess in his name, it should be the Prince Imperial; that if the minority of the Emperor's son be an obstacle it should be Arch-duke Charles; he added, however, that he would content himself with the Emperor's choice. At the same time Napoleon sent the description of the new Empress's household, and indicated the route which was to be followed. He finally sent Count Anatole de Montesquiou, one of his orderly officers, to Vienna, to carry his portrait* to the Arch-duchess, to be present at the marriage, and to report to him the

*Marie Louise said, on seeing the Emperor, that she did not consider that he had been flattered by the portrait.—M. (The portrait was painted by Saint and the frame was embellished with sixteen diamonds of a value of about half a million francs. It was presented to Marie Louise on a velvet cushion carried by the first *cavalier* of the French embassy.—R. H. S.)

first news that all these things had been concluded.

The Prince de Neufchâtel and Wagram had been sent on to Vienna as an extraordinary ambassador, and met Prince Paul Esterhazy on the frontier. He conducted him to the Imperial palace, where an apartment had been prepared for him in one of the wings. Marshal Berthier, Prince of Neufchâtel, entered into Vienna, and crossed the bridge thrown over the ruins of the ramparts which the French army had blown up after the last war before evacuating the capital. Such a leave-taking shows how much confidence Napoleon had in the feelings of Austria towards him, and from whom he was constantly expecting fresh perfidy. The Ambassador who was conducted on the day of his arrival into the presence of the Emperor to make his solemn demand for the hand of the Arch-duchess, was treated by the court with unusual distinction. The following day was taken up with the ceremony of handing to the Arch-duke Paul the powers bestowed by the Emperor Napoleon to wed the Arch-duchess in his name. On the following day, March 9th, the Arch-duchess, according to the usage, solemnly renounced succession to the Imperial throne, and took the oath. On the evening of the same day the marriage contract was signed with solemn ceremony in the grand apartments of the Palace and the amount of the dowry—five hundred thousand francs—was presented to the Ambassador in rolls of gold ducats enclosed in a box.

The religious ceremony of the marriage was performed on the 11th of March, in the Church of the Augustines. The gala banquet given at the court followed this ceremony and the extraordinary Ambassador was present. Excep-

tion was made in this instance to the ceremonial of the court of Vienna of only admitting Ambassadors to the Emperor's table on very rare occasions, and these, moreover, were obliged to leave the table at dessert, and remain afterwards amongst the crowds of gentlemen who were admitted to the banqueting hall. People did not fail to remember on this occasion, as on the marriage of the French Dauphin with Arch-duchess Marie Antoinette, that the Marquis Durfort had not been invited to the banquet, so as to avoid any discussion with the Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, who was present. The same Duke Albert of Saxony, to whom was reserved in his old age the spectacle so extraordinary in his eyes of a new throne being raised in France on the ruins of the old one; and on which another Arch-duchess went to sit, did not present himself at the banquet which was given in honour of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise. The absence of this Prince was explained by the desire of the Court of Vienna to give a particular mark of distinction to the Ambassador of the Emperor of the French.

On the morrow after the conclusion of the marriage, Marshal Prince Berthier received the Arch-duke Palatine and the Arch-duke Anthony, the Emperor's brothers, who came to take leave of the Ambassador, and to present the last adieux to the Imperial family, which was another exception made to etiquette. I could multiply the examples of these concessions made by a court which was scrupulously attached to forms, and which shows to what a degree the Viennese Court, on this occasion, desired to make itself agreeable to Napoleon. They are, moreover, the proof of the care with which Napoleon maintained in his person the

dignity of the nation of which he was the head. In order to make certain that everything which his ambassador had a right to demand had been accorded to him the Emperor charged the Masters of Ceremonies to lay before him a report by which he could judge if any slight had been inflicted upon Prince Neufchâtel in the capacity in which he was placed in Vienna. Napoleon had every reason to be satisfied with the report which was laid before him. As a matter of fact, never had an extraordinary envoy been received with such attention, by so brilliant an assembly or had received, as well as his suite, more handsome presents. On the day of the signing of the marriage contract Berthier had received the portrait of the Emperor of Austria, surrounded with diamonds, and attached to the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece. These outward and visible signs of distinction were not wanting on the part of the Viennese Court, which knew well how to hide the great discontent which it felt. If anybody in these circumstances acted with good faith it was probably Emperor Francis alone. On the 14th of March, the Arch-duke Charles conducted the new Empress to her carriage. After she had received the farewells of her family she took leave of the people of Vienna, whose blessings mingled with the sound of the bells and the cannon. For the first time tricolour flags were displayed at the windows, and the Austrian Imperial band played French martial airs. When the procession had passed the Burg, the discharge of artillery on the ramparts announced the fact to the town of Vienna. The Emperor Francis had preceded Marie Louise to Saint-Polten, where he hoped to see his darling daughter once more. I will pass

over the details of the reception at Braunau and the stay of Marie Louise at Munich, at Stuttgart, and at Carlsruhe, where the sovereigns of the different countries, through which they had passed, received her with unusual honours.

In spite of the proofs of deference and the apparent cordiality of the Austrian Imperial family; in spite of the frequent communications which took place between the Burg and the Tuileries, after the Empress's arrival in France, the reconciliation was not sincere on the part of the Austrian Court and aristocracy; and manifest symptoms were to be seen after the departure of Marie Louise. The population of Vienna, incited by the Russian and English agents, crowded together in the public places and in the streets. Loud complaints were made on the sacrifice which had been imposed upon the Emperor, and on the fate of his daughter, handed over to a man who would crush her with bad treatment. Another complaint was based on the certain humiliation to which Austria would be subjected. The authorities were obliged to take measures against these meetings. M. de Metternich took the occasion of these manifestations to warn the French Government that they should be considered in the light of a hint not to carry its exactions too far. In this he made allusion to certain conditions of the last treaty, which had not yet been carried out, adding that the Emperor Francis would prefer to renounce the benefits of peace rather than expose himself to lose the popularity which had helped him to keep up courage in his adversity. This disguised menace could not but irritate a conqueror to whose moderation the sovereign of Austria owed the preservation of his crown. In

consequence, Napoleon complained of the confidence reposed in councillors, who made a profession of being his enemies, and demanded their dismissal, but on this point he could obtain no satisfaction.

In reprisal Napoleon maintained the decree which he had issued at the commencement of the campaign, and which ordered that very strict measures should be taken against all persons born in the new or old provinces of France who might be in the service of Austria, and who should not return to French territory before a certain fixed date. All these circumstances together were not of a nature to calm the reciprocal irritation which kept growing on every side. The Emperor felt it, and not wishing to increase this irritation, for the time being granted an amnesty to the individuals who were menaced by the decree, on condition that those who wished to take advantage of this amnesty should re-enter France before July 1st, 1811. The convention in consequence of which sequestration had been put upon the estates of those born in the provinces of the Federation of the Rhine, and notably on the estates of Prince Schwarzenberg and of Count Metternich, was removed. Later on the Emperor granted certain individual authorizations to serve in Austria, but did not recall his decrees, which were kept in reserve and ready to receive their application if hostile manifestations forced the French Government to bring them into action again.

It will be seen that the peace of Vienna, and even the marriage, had far from re-established a good understanding between the Cabinets of Paris and Vienna. Austria was humiliated, but was not crushed. She bent her head, but was waiting with the same feelings

of ill-will and rancour for the opportunity to take her revenge. In signing peace, or in uniting in an alliance by marriage, the two parties kept themselves ready to recommence the war. Napoleon had left Vienna two days after the signing of the treaty, with some doubts as to its ratification. He went on to await it first at Passau, then at Munich, as we have seen, and fully made up his mind not to go any further away from Vienna, until he had heard that the ratification of this peace had been consummated. The Emperor had given orders that flags should be used to inform him of the positive or negative result of the negotiations. If the ratifications had been exchanged a white flag was to be hoisted; in case of discussion, a red flag was to be floated as long as the discussion lasted.

Count Stadion, one of the most passionate chiefs of the war party, had been replaced by Count Metternich. The retirement of the former seemed to be a sacrifice made to the desire to maintain peace; but if the minister was changed, the political system was not. An all-powerful oligarchy governed the Viennese Cabinet at this time. This oligarchy held in its hands all the departments of the Government; conservator of the political traditions of the monarchy—traditions which survive all events—its influence is constantly exercised, in a more or less degree, according to the sovereign's character. The House of Austria, founded by a simple nobleman had raised itself only by marriages and with the assistance of the nobility, which owned two thirds of the territory; it had always been kept the ward of this oligarchy. Of the three hundred families which composed it, a

very large majority in quest of Court favours had devoted themselves to the first minister. Amongst the most important may be named the Lichtenstein, the Stadion, the Schwarzenberg, the Esterhazy, and the Lobkowitz families. The tendency of the public mind towards emancipation is each day weakening the influence of these families, which would be destroyed altogether by a strong king. Matrimonial unions which should be a guarantee of reconciliation, were one of the tricks used by Austria to abate the storm, to cover its designs, and to lull its enemies to sleep. Austria had already practised this tortuous policy before the war of 1809, protesting its pacific intentions, denying its war preparations, but in reality preparing to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to recommence hostilities. One of the chiefs of the oligarchy—Prince Schwarzenberg—has himself drawn a faithful picture of this situation, when, in 1813, he said: "Politics made this marriage; and politics can undo it."

The ruin of the empire, which was the constant object of the efforts of the coalition, was effected. The admissions of the Cabinets, the narratives of historians, and time, has already raised many curtains; and one can form an opinion upon the open as well as the secret part which each power played in this work. One can, moreover, with thorough knowledge of the matter, cast a retrospective glance on the circumstances which presided over the drawing of the sword in Austria, in 1809. In this war the coalition had extended its combinations. Far from being discouraged, it had learnt lessons from its mistakes, and had taken advantage of the long-suffering of the

conqueror who on many occasions had had the opportunity in his hands to dethrone two of his most powerful adversaries, but who nevertheless had left them their crowns. Since 1792 this same coalition had come forward in each struggle with France separately. Since 1808 Austria, who had still been left powerful, had repaired her losses and had secretly organized herself. Secret communications drew together the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. Prussia was greatly abased, but her military system enabled her to treble her standing army with great rapidity. The secret object of the visit of the King and Queen of Prussia to Emperor Alexander on his return from Erfurth was to discuss present and future means for injuring the *common enemy*. It was a renewal of the oath which had been taken in 1805 on the tomb of the great Frederick. The conduct of Russia in the war of 1809, and the proofs of her inaction are sufficiently well known. The admissions of Colonel Bourtourlin* have finally placed her attitude in its true light. The bands organized by the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, by Schill, Katt, Doernberg, and others, as also secret societies, were formed or extended. Proclamation of war against *one man alone* was renewed amongst them with the unavowed resentment of the monarchs, and lying pamphlets once more provoked to insurrection or revolt the peoples subjected to the hegemony of France. Agents charged with the work of creating enemies to the French Emperor, and of inciting public opinion against the head of our country, went through Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, flattering the Italians with

*See pages 35, 36, 37 of his "*Military History of the Russian Campaign in* 1812".

the prospect of an Italian fatherland which should be independent of the foreigner. In France these agents addressed themselves to men of all parties, to the Royalists as to the Republicans, took advantage of the intriguing spirit of one individual—a busybody who has gained a sad notoriety* whilst another person (let his name be guessed)† simply participated in these intrigues, and worked with a purpose no less hostile towards his master, to win favour abroad. These emissaries found their way into the great corporations of the state, and even insinuated themselves into the armies, where they tried to awaken discouragement, and a lassitude for war. Stores of arms and ammunition were collected together in the English possessions, islands, or points under British influence in the vicinity of the continent. A great gathering composed of forty thousand men assembled in various English ports, and held itself in readiness to act; but its destination remained unknown; for what was expected from all these combinations was a general war, the signal for which was to be given by Austria. The slightest success obtained by this power would have sufficed to let loose against France an eighth coalition in which our secret enemies would at last have been able to show themselves unmasked. If in the year 1809, our active enemies were the English, Austrians, Spaniards, and the Portuguese, the Prussians and the Russians were our passive enemies, secretly preparing to take advantage of events. To these may be added the Princes of the Federation of the Rhine, who would have followed the general movement if the Austrian Army had

* Fouché. † Talleyrand.

succeeded in making a stand on their territories.

This hasty picture of the secret plan of the coalition is incomplete rather than exaggerated. The observing mind of General Pelet has collected its principal features with ample developments and proofs of what he advances in his excellent "*History of the War of* 1809."

Some of these plans at least were known to the Emperor. He had no means of preventing the bad faith of his enemies, and as to the plans which had been decided upon and the means of execution which had been prepared, these were hidden under the greatest mystery, and disguised under false demonstrations.

Count Pozzo de Borgo said to me in 1815, in the boasting way which Italians have: "Napoleon only wanted one man to have become the master of the world. I am that man. I could have revealed to him the secret of the Cabinets, and I could have informed him of what was being planned against him; but there was no possibility of our ever coming together. If he had got me into his hands he would have had me hanged as soon as he had found out who I was." There was a great deal of truth in what Pozzo said.

As a matter of fact Austria's future defection, which took place in 1813, had been decided *in petto*, on the day on which this power signed the Peace of Vienna, which in reality was only a truce, as were all the treaties of peace signed by the Coalition. The result of the marriage was only to suspend the effect of these hostile feelings. The House of Austria, which owes its aggrandizement to matrimonial alliances, hoped to recover possession of the provinces which it had lost

by this means. Its hopes not having been realized by the sacrifice of one of its Arch-duchesses, Napoleon could no longer rely on it. Victory had consecrated the adoption of the master of France into the society of kings, but the kings had protested against his admission amongst Royal dynasties. They hoped to be able to cast him out from amongst them sooner or later; with them it was only a question of time. There is where the danger lay for Napoleon. He thought himself sufficiently strong to defy this danger; which meant that he condemned himself to the performance of constant prodigies. He never could believe that the sovereigns of Europe would overthrow him, for he considered that his ruin would be contrary to their interests as best understood. They had no longer reason to fear that he would let loose public passions. England's hatred, England's gold, and England's intrigues aroused their dynastic pride, and kept alive amongst the kings by their ministers and by their aristocracy, blinded them to their true interests. More than one amongst them regretted it after the fall of the Emperor. Some say that they wished to prevent it. It is difficult to believe in the sincerity of these assertions, for their organs have revealed what they did towards this alleged purpose. The league then was general. It would have unmasked itself as early as in 1809, if Austria had been able to surprise us, as she hoped to do. The Emperor, by striking those rapid and decisive blows which upset the plans of the coalition, only postponed for four years what it accomplished in 1814.

I have spoken of Pozzo de Borgo, and I will take advantage of this opportunity to give some details

about a person who was one of Napoleon's most active enemies. I hold them in part from Count Pozzo de Borgo himself.

Attached as much by friendship as by conformity of opinions to Joseph and Napoleon Bonaparte, Pozzo was in 1790, a member of the Directorate of the department of Corsica, with Joseph. Pozzo's abandonment of the French party separated them. When the English occupied the island where Lord Elliot commanded in the capacity of Viceroy, Pozzo accepted employment at their hands and rendered them services. The Corsicans having shaken off the British yoke, Pozzo, who had drawn upon himself the hatred of his countrymen, finding it no longer safe to remain in the island after the departure of his protectors, followed them in their retreat and took refuge in England. Lord Elliot having been sent shortly afterwards to St. Petersburg, Pozzo accompanied him. The English minister entrusted him with several missions to the Emperor of Russia, who appreciated his spirit of intrigue and his talents. The English do not like foreigners, the Russians on the other hand give employment to all who offer themselves. Lord Elliot finding in the Emperor Alexander's good will for Pozzo a means of rewarding him for the services he had rendered to England, and of getting rid of this foreigner in an honourable manner, offered him to the Czar, who admitted him later to his Cabinet, and gave him the rank of General-Major. This turncoat, this protégé of the English, having by his past conduct rendered all return to the fatherland impossible, what reasons had he not to persevere in the way on which chance had placed him! He became one of the most active enemies of the French Imperial Government.

Sent to the various European cabinets he created enemies to France, and signed treaties with them with this object in view. Pozzo de Borgo found himself in 1809 in Austria, charged with a secret mission. At the time of the occupation of Vienna he followed the Court to Buda. The Austrian ministers, feeling that his presence might injure their negotiations with Napoleon, and having learnt that, far from claiming this agent, the Russians disavowed him, then told Pozzo that he could be no longer protected by Austria. Pozzo, fearing to fall into the hands of the French fled to Constantinople, and arrived there after a thousand dangers, crossing over Hungary and the mountain ranges in the greatest state of destitution. I will add to the details which I have given of Count de Borgo, what was said about him to Count d'Orsay, from whom I heard it, by the late Marquis Wellesley, the eldest brother of Lord Wellington, who was at that time head of the English Cabinet. Pozzo de Borgo having escaped from Austria, repudiated by the Russian Cabinet, retired from Constantinople to Odessa, where he wrote a pamphlet on the politics of the time. The Marquis Wellesley having read this pamphlet was surprised and delighted to find that the ideas expressed in it were absolutely in harmony with his own. He made inquiries as to what had become of the author; if he were any longer in receipt of the pension which the English Government had granted him, and gave orders that the arrears should be paid to him, and at the same time he brought Pozzo de Borgo to England. Struck by the interest of his conversation and the originality of his views the Marquis would not allow so valuable an agent to remain without employment. In conse-

quence, he sent him off to Russia with very warm letters of recommendation. Pozzo decided that he could do nothing better than take up his cross once more, and forget his grievances. He became more than ever the *âme damnée* of the Russian Government, and of the coalition. He resumed his diplomatic missions with renewed ardour, and was especially employed in the last campaign. It was he who contributed in pushing on the Russians to Paris in 1814. He had promised them that it was in his power to open its gates for them. The secret understanding on which he had counted, having failed him, his perplexity was extreme, and he passed the most critical night of his life before Paris. His head was at stake if his promises could not be realized. On the morrow he triumphed as he joined in the procession of the sovereigns on their entrance by the Pantin gate. Grand-Duke Constantine came up to him and said: "Pozzo, it is a happy day for you. If we were not here, you would be hanging!"

The Empress had arrived on French territory, and her journey from Strasburg to Compiègne was one continual ovation. Almost at every place where she stopped she found an officer, or page of the imperial household, with letters to her from the Emperor. At Strasburg she saw Count Metternich who was on his way to Paris, and at Vitry she received Prince Schwarzenberg and Countess Metternich, who started back to Paris whence they had come, after having been presented to her. The Emperor had given orders that during the journey, news of the Princess should be sent to her father every day.

Napoleon remained alone at Compiègne for a week.

He had the apartment intended for the future Empress fitted up, and presided in person over the arrangements which he thought would please her best. He approved or modified what was being done, hurrying on the preparations for the reception which he intended to give her, and writing to her with his own hand every day. When Marie Louise had set foot on French territory Napoleon sent bouquets of the most beautiful flowers with his letters, and sometimes game which he had shot. He was delighted with the answers which he received from her, many of which were very long. These answers were written in good French, and expressed sentiments marked by delicacy and measure. It may be that the Queen of Naples assisted in their composition. Napoleon's sister used also to write letters to her brother, full of details which interested him greatly.

The Emperor, being pressed by his other sister, Princess Pauline, who was a well-known authority on matters of elegance and good taste, had consented to have a fancy dress ornamented with embroidery, made by Léger, who was then the most fashionable tailor. Napoleon tried it on but did not feel at ease in it. The cut of the coat and the white cravat which was worn with it, did not suit his taste, and deprived him of his usual ease of manner. The uniform which he always wore, and a black cravat were the only things which suited him, perhaps because one was accustomed to see him always dressed in military uniform. However it may be, the Emperor only once wore the costume which Princess Pauline had advised him to have made. He went back to the blue uniform turned up with white, which he used to wear on Sundays and

feast days, reserving the green coat of the light cavalry of the guard for ordinary days.

Tents had been put up two leagues from Soissons, and access to these was gained by two inclined planes, one on the Soissons and one on the Compiègne side. According to the ceremonial which had been decided upon, the Emperor was to leave Compiègne with the Princes and Princesses of his family, the Grand Officers, and the officers of the household, preceded and followed by detachments of his guard. He was to pass through the first tent on the Compiègne side, whilst the Empress was to pass through the tent on the Soissons side. The two spouses were to stop in the middle tent before an ottoman footstool, on which the Empress was to bend down, to be immediately raised by the Emperor, who would embrace her. After this, both would enter a carriage with six places, together with the Princesses. The two processions would then unite and form themselves into one. This ceremonial was not observed, the Emperor having received a letter from the Empress, in which he was informed of her departure from Soissons. He decided to go and meet her at once. He ordered an open carriage, on which no armorial bearings were painted, to be got ready, entered it with the King of Naples, and, preceded by one solitary outrider, started *incognito* from Compiègne. He sent for me, and when I arrived I found him already seated in his carriage with the King of Naples by his side. He ordered me to open all despatches which might come for him, and to keep them. He told me that he was going to meet the Empress, that he would be back in the evening, and ordered me to keep the object of his journey secret. He returned to Compiègne, as he had said, at

ten o'clock in the evening, in fearful weather. He had fallen in with the Empress's procession some leagues beyond Soissons. Napoleon had approached her carriage without being recognized, when the equerry named him, and put an end to his *incognito*. He then entered the Empress's carriage, where the Queen of Naples was sitting, and ordered that instead of staying at Soissons, the carriages should continue to Compiègne. There the rumour had got abroad that the Empress was to arrive that same evening. Illuminations were prepared in haste, the triumphal arches were adorned, and the whole population in crowds went, in spite of the bad weather, to meet Their Majesties. The courts and the galleries of the palace, which were open to the public, were filled with the curious. At ten o'clock the cannon announced the arrival of the procession, which crossed the avenue rapidly by torchlight. The Princes and Princesses who were waiting where the carriages stopped were presented to the Empress by the Emperor. The authorities of the town were assembled in the gallery, and a group of young girls presented to Marie Louise an address and flowers. Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, was present. After this short ceremonial, the Empress immediately withdrew to her apartment, conducted by the Emperor, who supped with her and with the Queen of Naples.

Marie Louise, then in all the splendour of her youth, had a bust of perfect regularity. The bodice of her dress was longer than used to be worn at the time, which added to her natural dignity, and contrasted very well with the ugly, short bodices of our ladies. Her face was flushed with the journey and by her nerv-

ousness. Pale chestnut hair, silky and abundant, framed a fresh full face, over which eyes, full of sweetness, spread a charming expression. Her lips, which were rather thick, recalled the type of the Austrian ruling family, just as a slight convexity of the nose is the characteristic of the Princes of the House of Bourbon. Candour and innocence were breathed from all her person, and a plumpness, which left her after her confinement, bespoke a good state of health.

Napoleon imitated Henri IV. towards Marie de Médicis, under similar circumstances. An apartment had been prepared for the Emperor at the chancellor's house, but his impatience preventing him from submitting to this part of the ceremony, he did not leave the palace, which left a free field for conjecture. The first introduction of the new Empress into the interior of the palace took place the next day in the Emperor's cabinet. Did he mean to show her by this that he initiated her into his entire confidence, or did he consider that his workroom was the most important room in his house? It was thus that I was amongst the first who had the honour of presenting my respects to the Empress Marie Louise. At one o'clock took place the introduction of the ladies and gentlemen of the household, who had not taken part in the journey from Braunau, and these took the oath of allegiance. Then came the generals of the guard, the ministers who were at Compiègne, the chief officers, and the ladies and gentlemen in waiting who had been appointed to be in attendance during the journey from Compiègne.

On the following day the court left for St. Cloud, where it spent two days. The civil marriage was celebrated there on April 1st, and the religious marri-

age took place the next day in Paris in the great gallery of the Louvre Museum. The cardinals, who had been present at the civil marriage, with two exceptions, refused to be present at the religious marriage, alleging in justification that the only reason of their absence was that the Pope had refused to grant a dissolution of the first marriage. The Emperor would not admit this excuse, refused to receive their protestations of obedience, and exiled them into various departments, forbidding them to wear red, which is the exterior mark of their dignity. This gave them the name of "The Black Cardinals."*

On the morning of the day of the celebration of the religious marriage the Emperor was present at the Empress's toilette. The ladies-in-waiting—two French, and one Italian †—and the Mistress of the Robes, placed the crown on the Empress's head in his presence. A decision had been made by the Emperor concerning this crown in the following words:—

* The following are the names of the principal cardinals who remained absent from the ceremony: Mattei, Della Somaglia, Saluzzo, Brandacoro, Scotti, Litta, Gabrielle, Di Pietro, Galeffi, Oppizoni, Louis Ruffo, and Consalvi. An interesting police note dated Feb. 4th, 1810, gives a brief description of each of these cardinals, and the best way of influencing them. For instance against the name of Scotti, mentioned above, are written the words "An absolute nonentity". Against the name of Brandacoro the following report is written: "This man got some monks to translate the fanatical treatise called '*Des deux Puissances*' which was written by Abbé Pey, Canon of Notre-Dame of Paris, and published it under his name, as well as Hervey's '*Tombeaux*'. He made his fortune thus as posturing as an author. He is archbishop of Ferns. He is very prudent and very cowardly". Oppizoni is described as "totally unknown in Rome, and public opinion by no means in his favour". The other descriptions of the cardinals in question are of a similar nature, and the whole report appears to have been dictated rather with a view of flattering Napoleon than in the interests of truth.—R. H. S.

† Madame de Litta.

"On the day of the marriage the Empress will wear the coronation crown, which is not handsome, but which has a particular characteristic, and which I wish to attach to my dynasty. This crown will only be worn at the very greatest ceremonies. In ordinary ceremonies the Empress will wear the closed diamond crown, which has no characteristic, and which I am having made for her with the crown diamonds. On the day after the marriage she will wear the closed diamond crown at her reception.

"NAPOLEON.

"Given at COMPIÈGNE, 25th MARCH, 1810."

Public rejoicings took place in the park of St. Cloud after the civil ceremony. There was a general illumination, the fountains played under torchlight, and there were repeated salvos of artillery fired at the Invalides in Paris. Immense crowds took part in these rejoicings in spite of the rain

The solemn entry of the Emperor and Empress into Paris on April 2nd was magnificent. The triumphal arch at the Étoile Barrier, under which the sovereigns passed, had been figured by a decoration which showed it as it would be when it was finished. The weather which had been rainy the day before had become fine, and a bright sun shed its rays on the procession, the troops, and the crowd of spectators, composed of almost the entire population of Paris. Their Majesties were received at the Étoile Barrier by the Prefect of the Seine department, and by the municipal body. The procession arrived at the Tuileries Palace by crossing the Champs-Elysées, and the garden, at the entrance to which a triumphal arch had been raised. After having rested in the drawing-rooms of the palace, and in the Diana Gallery, the procession proceeded

towards the great Apollo drawing-room of the museum, where a chapel had been installed. The Queens of Spain, of Holland, and of Westphalia, Princesses Elisa and Pauline, carried the train of the Empress's mantle. Cardinal Fesch, the Grand Almoner, pronounced the nuptial benediction over the spouses. After the ceremony the ladies who had placed the crown on the Empress's head, removed it and the imperial mantle, which were carried back to Notre Dame by the First Chamberlain, Master of the Wardrobe. This officer had been to fetch them in the morning with a ceremonial, which was also observed on the return of these insignia to the Cathedral treasury, where they were to remain. Leaving the Apollo drawing-room the Emperor, taking the Empress's hand, placed himself with her on the balcony of the *Pavillon de l'Horloge*, where they were present at the march past of the various bodies of the imperial guard. A banquet was given in the theatre, and Their Majesties listened to a concert which was executed under the windows of the palace. This concert was followed by a display of fireworks which reached right down to the whole length of the big avenue of the Champs-Elysées.

A description of all the fêtes given on the occasion of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louise would give but a too feeble and imperfect picture of their magnificence, and the enthusiasm of the Paris population; but they will be remembered for a very long time.

The city of Paris wished the richness and beauty of its presents to correspond to the splendour of such a marriage. It offered a toilette table, with all its fittings, in silver gilt, to the Empress, the arm-chair and swing-glass being also in silver gilt. This

set had been carried out from designs of the best artists and under their personal supervision. So perfect was this masterpiece that when M. Ballouhey, steward of the Empress's purse demanded it in her name, in 1814, together with the cradle of the King of Rome, Count Beugnot, who was at that time Commissary of the Police Department, refused to hand them over. He alleged, in refusing their restitution, that it would be quite impossible to replace them, considering that the combination of circumstances which had given birth to these masterpieces could not present itself again, and that consequently the artists, in spite of all their talents, would be unable to produce work of equal beauty. This toilette table and accessories were melted down in 1832, and the money was used for relieving families who had suffered by the cholera, but the King of Rome's cradle was spared. Marie Louise had it sent to her son, who had it placed in the Imperial treasury at Vienna, where it still is. The present to Napoleon by the city of Paris consisted of a magnificent table service in silver gilt. By order of the Emperor the two hundred thousand florins given by Austria as the dowry of Marie Louise, were paid into the public treasury.

After the conclusion of the fêtes and ceremonies the court returned to Compiègne where a grand diplomatic reception took place, and distinguished foreigners were presented. Whilst there Napoleon received many letters of congratulation from almost all the foreign courts. The castle of Compiègne had been decorated and furnished with an elegance and taste worthy of its destination. Amongst other rooms in Marie Louise's occupation was a boudoir hung with a profusion of cashmeres of inestimable value. The Princess had

these cashmeres taken down later on, but as a matter of fact they had only been placed there as a present to her, and to be used as she thought fit.

The Empress Josephine had enjoyed great liberty at home. She had many acquaintances. Her desire to serve the Emperor, and to increase his popularity, prompted her to cultivate relations which she had preserved, and to extend them. The Emperor's marriage with a foreign Princess, who was not yet very experienced, and was unknown to Parisian society, made it of course necessary to modify this manner of life, and the household of the new Empress had to be organized in a less independent manner. The precautions with which she was surrounded were taken in order to keep her away from all attempts at intrigue and coterie, but the isolation produced by these precautions brought with it grave disadvantages which only became manifest later on. Napoleon appointed the Duchess of Montebello, widow of Marshal Lannes, who had been killed at the battle of Essling, lady of honour to the Empress Marie Louise. He had hesitated some time between her and the Princess de Beauvau. Napoleon abandoned the idea of selecting Madame de Beauvau because he thought that it would not be wise to introduce into his court influences opposed to national ideas, influences to which a German Princess, in whom the prejudice of caste and of birth might be supposed to exist, would have been subjected. Accordingly he decided on the duchess, thinking that he owed this mark of distinction to the memory of one of his oldest and bravest comrades in arms. His choice met with general approval. Madame de Montebello was ten years older than the Empress, a very beautiful woman, cold,

calm, and of irreproachable conduct, and in appointing her the Emperor had said: "I am giving the Empress a real lady of honour." The Countess de Luçay, a gentle, inoffensive lady of great morality and excellent manners, became the Mistress of the Robes. The interior service, which at the time of the Empress Josephine had consisted of four *dames d'annonce*, was augmented by two more ladies whose attributions were of a more austere nature. They were chosen from amongst the residents of the Ecouen Royal and Imperial House, preference being given to widows or daughters of officers. One of them, Madame Durand, was the widow of a general. They served the Empress in the same way as the aides-de-camp served the Emperor, except that they did not accompany her out of doors. They were consequently near the sovereign's person during the day, and during the night one of them slept in a room adjoining Marie Louise's apartment. They allowed no man to enter her private apartment; such were their orders. They were present at her drawing and music lessons, they wrote notes at her dictation, or at her order, and presided over the whole interior service.

The Empress's private allowance was £2000 per month. Ten thousand francs were distributed each month to the poor, this distribution taking place with prudence, and after full inquiries had been made. The balance was used for toilette expenses. Marie Louise was economical, and took care never to exceed her allowance. She gave many presents, and always kept in reserve in her writing-table a purse of £1000, which she never touched.

The poets all vied with each other in celebrating the

great event of the marriage. Fouché had given them a hint on this subject, but the Emperor had blamed him, because he did not wish to appear to have ordered these praises. Napoleon wished the authors to be left to their own inspirations, which moreover had no need of being stimulated. Later on he made use of a sum of 100,000 francs, which was taken from his privy purse, and distributed it as a proof of his satisfaction.*

Whilst the French muses, interpreting the public feeling, were paying their tribute of homage to the spouses, less sincere demonstrations were taking place at the castle of Valençay. Rivalry of adulation established itself there amongst the dethroned Spanish Princes. A *Te Deum* was chanted in their chapel. They presided at a banquet given by themselves in honour of the Emperor and Empress, at which the most flattering toasts, accompanied by the most obsequious compliments were drunk to the health of the royal couple, added to the often repeated acclamations and cheers of Prince Ferdinand. The *Moniteur*, which gave an account of this feast, related that the Prince proposed the health of Their Majesties in the following words: "To the health of *our* august sovereigns, the great Napoleon, and Marie Louise his august wife." A display of fireworks brought to a close a fête the magnificence of which could deceive nobody. To

* Amongst the poets whom Méneval refers to may be mentioned: Tissot who wrote "*Adieux de Vienne*"; Arnault, Eménard, Étienne, ("*Le Chant d'Alcide*";) Lépomucène, Lemercier, Aignon, author of "*Polixène*," who wrote "*La Vision du Vieillard*", Armand Gouffé who presented a poetical homage to the air "*Avec vous sous le même toit*"; Chazet, Désangiers, Perrot, Cazelle, Sauzon, Ducray-Duminil, Antiguac, Saint-Ursin, Rougemont, Brugnière, and others. Even Coupart, the censor, wrote a poem. Delille and Ducis were the only two poets of any reputation who refused to associate themselves to the general servility.—R. H. S.

crown it in a worthy manner Prince Ferdinand begged the Emperor to adopt him as his son, and to grant him the honour of allowing him to figure at his Court. Such an entire want of dignity created a painful feeling everywhere.

Another scene, in which Fouché's police played the principal part, took place at the same time at the Château of Valençay. A certain Baron de Kolli, furnished with instructions, powers, and money by the Marquis of Wellesley, had been charged with the mission to help Ferdinand and the other Spanish Princes to escape, and to conduct them to Admiral Cockburn, who, with a small fleet was awaiting the success of this attempt near the coast. The mission of the agent of the English Government having become known, he was arrested. His credentials were put into the hands of a police agent, who went and played the part of Baron de Kolli to Ferdinand. But whether the Prince of the Asturias had been secretly warned of the substitution, whether he suspected a trap, or did not dare to risk the adventure, he received Fouché's agent very badly, and reported him to the governor of the castle. The genuine Baron de Kolli remained in prison in Vincennes until the return of the Bourbons, who restored him to liberty.

After the success of the campaign in Spain, King Joseph had returned to Madrid, and had been able to devote himself to the interior government of the country, in which he had effected some useful reforms. Almost all the powers had acknowledged the new King, and had addressed him letters of congratulation. Ferdinand had not failed to send his congratulations, and had asked him to intercede for him with the Emperor, to

induce him to grant him the hand of one of his nieces. The first military events which had happened in Spain had been favourable to our army. Saragossa had surrendered, and important victories had been gained over the enemy. Suddenly a new English army, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, who afterwards became the Duke of Wellington, had joined the Portuguese troops, and restored the confidence of the Spaniards. Our enemies assembled their forces to march upon Madrid which they hoped to surprise in a defenceless state. The King marched out of Madrid with his reserve troops to meet them, and to join the corps commanded by Marshals Soult, Ney, and Mortier. There were alternating successes and reverses. A disagreement which arose amongst the marshals was calculated to help the plans of the English general, their adversary. King Joseph, distinguished by other qualities, was not accustomed to war, and so precarious was the authority which he exercised over the leaders of the French army, that he was unable to remedy the unfortunate effects of their disagreement. This campaign, which might have had decisive consequences, resulted nevertheless in checking the movements of the enemy, and in throwing the Anglo-Portuguese army back into Portugal. Marshal Jourdan returned to France, and Marshal Soult, in whom the Emperor had greater confidence, replaced him as Major-General to the King. The King had returned to Madrid, where his spirit of conciliation seemed to rally partisans around him, even amongst the Spaniards, whose opposition until then had been most marked.

Military operations were being carried out with success on the east of the Peninsula. Various successes

secured in Aragon, and the taking of Girone, a fortress in Catalonia, which was defended by the Spaniards with as much obstinacy as Saragossa, brought this campaign to a successful close.

After the fêtes occasioned by his marriage, Napoleon, whose attention had been drawn to the Belgian provinces, determined to visit them, together with that part of Holland which had recently been ceded to France. He had another object, besides giving the Empress a change, and showing her to the people of Belgium, and his new provinces. The Emperor's principal object was to see what was going on with his own eyes, to judge of the effect which had been produced by the failure of the English expedition of Walcheren, to see to what an extent the continental system was being violated there. He also wanted to find out what it was possible to do to remedy the damage caused to Dutch trade by the interruption of communications with England, and to conciliate as far as it was possible, the interests of the Netherlands, with the rigour of his prohibitive laws.

To understand the reasons which decided Napoleon to undertake this journey it is necessary to speak of the causes which brought about the annexation to the Empire of the districts situated on the right bank of the Escaut, and, in the end, that of Holland. The Emperor had seen how feebly the Dutch had co-operated in the defence of the island of Walcheren, against the English invasion under the command of Lord Chatham. He also saw that the authorities of this country did not check the circulation of English goods, with which smugglers, and the English themselves during their temporary occupation of the island of Walcheren,

had flooded the Kingdom, not excepting the capital and the King's Court. It has been seen that the King of Holland sympathized but little with the Emperor in the direction which the latter wished to give to the government of his states. The decree, issued in Berlin on November 21st, 1806, which put England in a state of blockade, added to their disagreement. Such a measure seemed revolutionary to King Louis, and calculated to ruin Dutch trade. He would not admit that this decree was a necessary and inevitable reprisal on the edicts of the King of England's council. His entire attention was devoted towards attenuating the injury which the blockade system caused to Holland, and to evade carrying it into effect as much as he could, without appearing to violate it openly. To the complaints made to him about the facilities granted to English trade in the ports of Holland, he answered by saying that he could not prevent skin from perspiring. The effect of this opposition was that the Emperor was seriously displeased.

When Napoleon saw himself forced by the decrees of the British council to take recourse to the system of a continental blockade, it was evident that Holland could only preserve her independence by faithfully carrying out this system, or by a maritime peace. The King's answer to the pressing requests of the Emperor that he should close his ports to English trade, was that this system of continental blockade would cause the ruin of Holland, and that it would be better for her to unite to and incorporate herself with France, which would at least give her free communications with forty millions of men. The King was asked to draw the attention of England to this state of things him-

self, and to ask her to conclude peace so as to retain the advantages which she derived from the independence of the Dutch Kingdom. With this in view France's conditions were communicated to the English Cabinet. These conditions were moderate ones. With Napoleon's consent M. Labouchère, sent by the King of Holland, left for London in February, 1810. Fouché, who was ever on the look-out for the means of rendering himself indispensable, heard of the application which was being made to the London Cabinet, and—of his own accord, and without any other authority but his own—began a second negotiation with Lord Wellesley without the knowledge of either King Louis or Napoleon. He charged M. Ouvrard with this mission, but did not satisfy himself with one intermediary alone, and gave orders to another agent whom he had in London, to enter into communication with the English minister. So many overtures aroused the suspicions of a minister who was but little disposed for peace, and he made haste to put an end to the negotiations by giving a negative answer to M. Labouchère.

The Emperor then saw that in consideration of the safety of our frontiers, and the strict carrying out of the continental system, he could no longer postpone the military occupation of the Dutch frontier. Communications between this country and England had not been interrupted, and British trade continued to find markets in the Dutch ports. Negotiations were entered into without further delay, and during the time when King Louis was at Paris, where he had been called at the same time as the other sovereigns allied to France. This prince, who was one of the most honourable men in his kingdom, but who had been embittered by vex-

ations, domestic troubles, and infirmities—placed between the duty which he owed to his brother, and the rigidity of his principles—could not make up his mind to do violence to his feelings in these decisive circumstances. Neither prayers, nor advice, nor remonstrances, nor the promise to indemnify the Dutch for the sacrifice exacted from them, after peace should have been restored, could vanquish the King's scruples, or induce him to give orders for the total exclusion of English trade. King Louis considered his duty, his honour, and even his religion interested in not allowing any sacrifice, from which Holland might suffer, to be imposed upon him; or to admit any composition, or pay any attention to the advantages which an unreserved co-operation in Napoleon's plans promised him. Some very sharp explanations took place between the Emperor and his brother, and it was then that the former first threatened to occupy Holland by force. The King wrote to Holland to order that the French troops should be resisted by all means, even by an inundation of the country. He forbade that any obedience should be paid to his orders if these orders were contrary to those mentioned, and commanded them to hold out until his return.

These orders soon became known. The King, challenged to yield, and having reflected on the responsibility which he was thus assuming in the ruin of his country resigned himself at last to sign a treaty which was forced upon him. This treaty, which is dated March 16th, 1810, stipulated the cession to the Empire of the Dutch provinces situated on the right bank of the Escaut, and the interdiction of all trade with England, until such time as the English Cabinet should

have revoked its decrees in council. During these discussions, which had been so violent that an unpleasant issue could be expected, Marshal Oudinot had received orders to occupy the fortresses of Berg-op-Zoom and Breda.

Amongst other documents relative to the struggle carried on by the King of Holland against the Emperor in Paris, we will quote the following letter, in spite of its length, because it is remarkable for the greatness of national sentiment which predominates in it, and because it epitomises Napoleon's grievances at the attitude adopted by his brother:—

"Sir my Brother,—I have received Your Majesty's letter. You desire me to make known to you what are my intentions with regard to Holland. I will do so frankly. When Your Majesty ascended the throne of Holland, part of the Dutch nation desired its annexation to France. The esteem with which the history of this brave nation had inspired me prompted me to desire that it should keep its name and its independence. I wrote its constitution myself, and this was to be the basis of the throne of Your Majesty, and I placed you on it. I hoped that, having been educated with me, you would have had for France that attachment which the nation has the right to expect from its children, and all the more from its Princes. I hoped that brought up in my politics you would have felt that Holland, which had been conquered by my people, owed her independence only to the generosity of France; that Holland, being weak without alliances, without an army, could and must be conquered on the day on which she should put herself into direct opposition with France; that, she had no right to separate her policy from mine; and that, finally, Holland was bound to me by treaties. I hoped accordingly that in placing on the throne of Holland a Prince of my blood, I had found the mean term which

would conciliate the interests of the two states and unite them in a common interest and in a common hatred of England, and I was quite proud of having given to Holland what she needed, as by my act of mediation I had found what was needed by Switzerland. But I have not been long in finding out that I had been entertaining a vain illusion; my hopes have been deceived. Your Majesty, in ascending the throne of Holland, forgot that you are French, and even strained all the springs of your reasoning, and twisted the delicacy of your conscience, to persuade yourself that you are Dutch. Those Dutchmen who are friendly disposed towards France have been neglected and persecuted; those who have served England have been put forward. The French, from the officer to the soldier, have been turned out, treated with disrespect, and I have had the pain of seeing the French name exposed to shame in Holland, under a Prince of my own blood. However, the respect for, and honour of the French name cannot with impunity be attacked, either by Holland or by anybody whosoever. This honour, and this respect, lie next to my heart, and I have known how to bear it aloft on the bayonets of my soldiers.

"How badly Your Majesty is disposed is shown in your speeches. In these one meets with nothing but disagreeable allusions to France. Instead of giving the example of forgetting the past, they consequently recall it, and by those means flatter the secret feelings and the passions of the enemies of France, and, after all, about what do the Dutch complain? Were they not conquered by my arms? Do they not owe their independence to the generosity of my people? Should they not rather bless the generosity of France which has constantly left open her canals, and her custom-houses to their commerce, which has made no other use of her conquests than to perfect them, and who until the present has employed her power only for the consolidation of their independence. Who, then, can have justified Your Majesty's conduct, which is an insult to the nation, and an offence to

me. You must understand that I do not separate myself from my predecessors, and that from Clovis down to the Committee of Public Safety I hold myself responsible for all; and whatever of evil is said light-heartedly against the Governments which have preceded me, I hold to be said with the intention of offending me. I know it has become the fashion amongst certain people to praise me, and to cry France down, but those who do not love France do no love me; and those who speak ill of my people, I hold them for my bitterest enemies. Had I only this one cause for discontent, namely, of seeing into what contempt the French name has fallen in Holland, the rights of my crown would have authorized me to declare war on a neighbouring sovereign in whose states people allowed themselves to insult my nation. I did nothing of the kind.

"But Your Majesty has been deceived as to my character. You have formed a false estimate of my goodness, and my feelings towards you. You have violated every treaty which you have made with me; you have disarmed your fleets; you have discharged your sailors; you have disorganized your armies; so that Holland finds herself without either army or a fleet, as though storehouses filled with goods, and regiments of tradesmen and clerks could consolidate a power. Such things make a rich association; but there can be no King without finances, without assured means of recruiting, and without a fleet.

"Your Majesty has done more than this. You took advantage of the moment when I had troubles on the continent to allow the relations between Holland and England to be renewed, to violate the laws of the blockade which is the only means of efficaciously injuring this power. I gave you a proof of my disapproval of this conduct in forbidding you France, and I made you feel that, without the assistance of my arms, by closing the Rhine, the Weser, the Escaut, and the Meuse to Holland, I put your country in a more critical condition than if I had declared war upon you, that I isolated it in a way which meant its annihilation.

"This blow re-echoed in Holland. Your Majesty implored

my generosity and appealed to my fraternal feelings, promising me a change of conduct. And I thought that this warning would suffice. I raised the customs prohibition, when you very soon returned to your first system. It is true that at the time I was in Vienna burdened with a heavy war, Your Majesty received every American ship which presented itself in the ports of Holland, though they were driven out of the ports of France. I was forced to close my custom-houses to Dutch trade for a second time. Surely it would have been difficult to have made a more authentic declaration of war. In this state of things we could consider ourselves as really at war. In my speech to the legislative body I hinted at my displeasure, and I will not hide from you that it is my intention to annex Holland to France, both to add to my territory, to strike the most terrible blow in my power against England, and to deliver myself from the continual insults which the ringleaders of your Cabinet never cease to direct against me. As a matter of fact the mouth of the Rhine and the Meuse must belong to me. The principle in France that the valley of the Rhine is our frontier is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me in your letter of the 17th that you are sure of being able to prevent all trade between Holland and England; that you have finances, fleets, and armies; that you will re-establish the principles of the constitution by giving no privileges to the nobility; by abolishing the rank of marshal —a rank which is only a caricature, and quite incompatible with a power of the second order; that you will have the storehouses of colonial goods, and whatever may have been brought on American boats, and ought not to have entered your ports, seized upon. My opinion is that you are undertaking what you will not be able to carry out, and that the annexation of Holland to France is only being postponed. I will admit that I have no more interest in annexing to France the countries on the right bank of the Rhine, than I have of annexing the Grand Duchy of Berg and the

Hanseatic cities. I can accordingly leave the right bank of the Rhine to Holland, and I will countermand the prohibition which I had ordered at my custom-houses, at all such times as the existing treaties, which will be renewed, shall be carried out. These are my demands:—

(1.) Prohibition of all trade and all communication with England.

(2). A fleet of fifteen line vessels, seven frigates, and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and equipped.

(3). A land army of twenty-five thousand men.

(4). Suppression of the rank of Marshal.

(5). Abolition of all the privileges of the nobility, which are contrary to the constitution which I gave, and which I guaranteed.

"Your Majesty can negotiate through your Ambassador on this basis, with the Duke de Cadore, but you must rest assured that on the admission of the first packet, the first vessel into Holland, I shall re-establish prohibition at my custom-houses; that at the first insult which shall be made to my flag I will have the officer who allows himself to insult my flag seized by force and hanged at the main-mast. Your Majesty will find a brother in me, if I find a Frenchman in you. If you forget the feelings which attach you to our common country you will not think it wrong that I should forget the ties which nature has placed between us.

"To sum up; the annexation of Holland to France is what would be most useful to France, to Holland, and to the continent, because it is what would be most harmful to England. This annexation could be carried out by consent or by force. I have sufficient grievance against Holland to declare war; at the same time I am quite ready to agree to an arrangement which would yield to me the Rhine as a frontier, and by which Holland would engage to fulfil the conditions stipulated above.

"Your affectionate Brother,

"NAPOLEON.

Given at TRIANON, Sept. 21, 1809."

The Emperor and the Empress left Compiègne at the end of April and stopped at St. Quentin, where Napoleon occupied himself with his usual activity with details of government and the needs and resources of industry. His questions, which were always remarkable for their precision and exactness, showed how much he had these interests at heart. Their Majesties visited the canal, and crossed the first part, which was not yet finished, in their carriage. The sovereigns then rowed through the canal in the part into which the water had already been let in, for a distance of about a league and a half. Five days were spent at Antwerp, which were employed by the Emperor, who was on horseback from daybreak, in visiting the harbour works, the arsenal in all its details, and the fortifications; finally in reviewing the soldiers and inspecting the fleet. A ship of several decks, the largest which had been constructed in this harbour, was launched. The authorities were presented to the Emperor and Empress. Napoleon conversed at length with them all, examining what reforms were possible. The Empress showed herself affable, simple, and unpretentious towards everybody. The remembrance of Josephine's graces, and her ardent desire to please, perhaps injured Marie Louise. Her reserve might have been attributed to the German dynastic pride, but this was not the case, and nobody could have been more simple, or less haughty. It was her natural timidity and the novelty of the rôle which she was called upon to play, which alone gave her an appearance of stiffness. She had so completely identified herself with her new position, and showed herself so touched by the kindness which the Emperor showed her, that when he

proposed that she should wait for him at Antwerp, during the tour which he intended to make in the Zeeland Islands, she implored him to take her with him, and not to fear the fatigue of the journey on her account. Napoleon accordingly left with her, and went to visit one after the other, Bois-le-Duc, Berg-op-Zoom, Breda, Middleburg, Flushing, and the Island of Walcheren, which had been evacuated four months before by the English, after an expedition which had apparently been prepared for the sake of effecting a diversion which might be useful to Austria, but which, as a matter of fact, was undertaken to destroy the beautiful maritime and military establishments of Antwerp, which so aroused the ire of England. Napoleon returned to this city by North and South Beveland, ascending the Escaut. He inspected the fortifications of these various strongholds in detail. So rapid and sure was his glance, that merely by riding round the *enceinte* of a fort, often at a gallop, he noticed the weak points, and on his return could dictate notes which showed that he had not neglected the least important detail.

After this journey the Emperor went and spent three days at the castle of Laeken. He left it on May 17, passing through the towns of Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Dunkirk, Lille, Calais, Boulogne, Dieppe and Havre rapidly, ending his course at Rouen, where he spent two days. It is hardly necessary to add that he left behind him traces of his passage by acts of benevolence at all these cities. The Empress was delighted with the really triumphant reception which she had received, during the whole of the journey. She was received everywhere under triumphal arches, and enjoyed all

demonstrations which could flatter her—popular enthusiasm, illuminations, balls, and fêtes were everywhere lavished upon her. She had been able to appreciate the French character, and to form an opinion that she would easily accustom herself to a country where the attachment in which Napoleon was held, the prodigious influence which he exercised there, the affection which he had for her, the affection which the population showed her on account of the Emperor, made the new sovereign foresee such happy days. Napoleon, on his side, congratulated himself in having found in Marie Louise a companion to whom every idea of intrigue was repugnant, who was discreet, and who thought but how to please him. The Grand-Duke of Würtzburg, the brother of the Emperor of Austria, the Queen of Naples, the King and Queen of Westphalia, Prince Eugene, and the two Austrian ministers, Metternich and Schwarzenberg, accompanied the Imperial couple on this journey.

Their Majesties returned to St. Cloud on June 1st. This month was consecrated to splendid fêtes which the city of Paris, the Imperial Guard, and other corporations gave to the sovereigns. The people took part in the public rejoicings, and in the interval the Emperor went with the Empress to visit several public establishments, amongst other the National Library, and the Zoological Gardens, and showed himself with her at the principal theatres. On July 1st, Prince Schwarzenberg offered a fête to Their Majesties at the Austrian Embassy. This fête became sadly notorious by the castastrophe which brought it to a close. A fire broke out in the principal ball-room. The Imperial family, which was the object of the Ambassador's first care, was soon

placed in safety. Napoleon put the Empress in the carriage and entered it himself to re-assure her, but on arriving at the Champs-Elysées, left her to continue to St. Cloud, and returned to the embassy mansion to contribute by his presence in rescuing some victims from the flames. The particulars of this catastrophe are well known, and were a sad diversion from the rejoicings which till then had been troubled by no accident. The remembrance of the calamity which saddened the marriage fêtes of Louis XVI. with Marie Antoinette was present in all minds, and the sad presentiments aroused anxiety, the passing impression of which was soon effaced by the prestige of Napoleon's fortune. The Emperor's first care on the morrow was to send to ask for news of the persons who had suffered by this terrible accident.

In the meanwhile the Empress Josephine, after having passed the month of April at Navarre, had returned to La Malmaison, given up to profound melancholy. It was with difficulty that she could accustom herself to her new state. After her divorce she retained the title and rank of Empress-Queen, and the enjoyment of a revenue of three million francs; and held a court at La Malmaison where the same etiquette was observed as at the Tuileries. The Emperor desired that she should continue to receive the persons of the court, the grand dignitaries, the Ministers and the principal authorities—to frequent La Malmaison was to please him.

To divert Josephine from this melancholy Napoleon advised her to go to the waters at the end of July; so she left for Aix, in Savoy. After the season of the waters she was anxious to visit Switzerland, which she did not know, but on arriving at Geneva, official

advice from Paris caused her to fear that the Emperor was seeking to remove her from France. She commissioned her daughter, Queen Hortense, to speak about the matter with him in a confidential manner. The Emperor, who had not had the least idea of this, and had only wished to give Josephine a change, hastened to write to reassure her. He advised her to go and see the Viceroy at Milan, but gave her the choice between this journey and her return to Navarre, as he wished her to do what would best suit her. Josephine, under the impression of the fear with which she had been inspired, gave up her journey to Switzerland, and made haste to return to Navarre, where she spent the rest of 1810, and the larger part of 1811. It was only in 1812 that she went to Milan to be present at the confinement of her daughter-in-law.

In the course of the month of July of this same year—1810—Lucien wrote to the Emperor to express his desire to retire to America. Since the Mantua interview, of which we have spoken, all attempts to bring about a reconciliation between the two brothers had failed. Napoleon, after having made a last and useless appeal to Lucien, consented to his expatriation. Lucien, however, did not succeed in reaching the United States, for an English frigate arrested him in the waters of Cagliari, and conducted him as a prisoner to England, where he remained until 1814, beguiling his captivity by the cultivation of letters, and by putting the finishing strokes to his poems, "*Charlemagne*" and "*La Cirnéide*".

Canova, who had come to Paris in the month of November, 1802, to make the First Consul's bust, returned to our capital in October, 1810, summoned there by

the Emperor, who wished to entrust him with the execution of a statue of the Empress Marie Louise. Canova represented this Princess in the character of *Concord*, and this statue is to-day at Parma. During the course of the sittings which the Empress accorded to the celebrated sculptor, he spoke to the Emperor of the state of distress of the St. Luke Academy in Rome, which had neither revenues nor schools, and the necessity of applying some money to indispensable repairs connected with the Florence Cathedral, as well as for the conservation and maintenance of the numerous monuments and artistic objects with which this city and its churches are filled. Canova, whose acquaintance I had made at the time of his journey in 1802, wrote to me in the first days of November, 1810, to beg me to remind the Emperor of the good intentions in which he had left him, and of the promises which he had received from him. Being about to return to Italy, the great artist desired strongly to hear the news of the fulfilment of the promises. On November 7th I was in a position to answer him that the Emperor had ordered (1) that the part of the German college called *La Fabrica Vecchia* should be accorded to the St. Luke Academy as a place of meeting for its schools; (2) that an income of one hundred thousand francs should be assigned in fee simple to this Academy, of which sum twenty-five thousand francs should be applied to the Academy, and seventy-five thousand francs to the preservation of ancient monuments; (3) that a sum of three hundred thousand francs should be placed at the disposal of the President of the Academy of Florence: to wit, two hundred thousand francs for digging up antiquities, and one hundred

thousand francs for encouragements to be given to artists; (4) that funds should also be granted for necessary repairs. Canova thanked me with effusion for the good news which I had communicated to him, and left Paris highly delighted at being the bearer thereof.

The arrival of Lady Bathurst at Morlaix in the month of September 1810, called attention once more to an extraordinary occurrence which still remains enveloped in mystery. The various recitals which have been made of this event all agree in the matter of detail. I will briefly relate this extraordinary adventure, which is really worth being recorded.

After the Peace of Vienna, in 1809, Mr. Benjamin Bathurst, who, though a very young man, was English Ambassador to Vienna, suddenly disappeared on the frontier of Mecklenburg, at the very moment when he was about to embark for England at a port on the Baltic. He was travelling under a fictitious name with a courier of the English Cabinet. Mr. Bathurst had set down at the stage-house at Perleberg, which is situated outside the town. When he left it he walked towards his carriage in which the courier was already seated, but whilst putting his hand on the handle of the carriage door the English diplomat seemed suddenly to remember something, turned round, and walked behind the wall of the house. As he did not return they went to look for him, but could not find him, and not the slightest trace of him could be found. He never appeared again from that hour, and was never again seen; until a fortnight after his disappearance there was found near the stage-house, where he had dined, on the wayside, his trousers, in the pocket of which was the commencement of a letter to his wife. Although

it had been raining hard for a fortnight neither paper nor writing had been in the least affected. It could never be found out who had brought the trousers to where they were found.

Mr. Bathurst, during his journey, had been a prey to extreme agitation. He expressed his fear of falling into the hands of enemies. He had walked on foot to the house of the Governor of the town, and had expressed great anxiety on this point; then on his return to the stage-house he had burnt his papers. All these matters gave rise to the suspicion that he was mentally affected. The English embassies and the Bathurst family caused all kinds of researches and inquiries to be made, but without any result. Even to-day complete ignorance exists as to what became of this unhappy man.

It was in order to make in person such inquiries as might lead her to trace her husband that Lady Bathurst came to the continent with her brother. The Emperor in a letter dated June 26, 1810, ordered the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the police to furnish her with passports, and to receive her with favour. He allowed her to remain in France as long as might seem fit to her. She returned to England by way of Germany without having discovered anything concerning Mr. Bathurst's disappearance. It would be superfluous to allude to the thousand conjectures to which this event gave rise. I will, however, say that no suspicion whatever attached itself to the French Government in this matter; and that Lord Bathurst, Colonial Minister, the man who persecuted Napoleon most bitterly at St. Helena, was a near relation of Mr. Benjamin Bathurst. The implacable hatred with

which he persecuted the great victim of English perfidy, and the abominable outrages with which he treated him, were the way in which he requited the man who was most kind towards his own kinswoman in 1810. This was not the only occasion, moreover, on which Napoleon gave marks of favour to English subjects in spite of the bitter war which the English Government was waging upon him. A certain Mr. Palmer, in whom Mr. Canning took an interest, was sent back to England at the Minister's request, and the Emperor informed Mr. Canning at the same time that he was delighted to have had the opportunity of making himself agreeable to him. To finish with the Bathurst family, I will add that another bereavement was in store for Mrs. Benjamin Bathurst. Her daughter, who was endowed with all the gifts of youth and beauty, perished in the Tiber at Rome, in 1828.

Some months after Napoleon's marriage, M. de Talleyrand, tormented by a thirst for intrigue and power, thought a favourable time had come to regain favour, and in consequence made up his mind to write to the Emperor to offer his services. Napoleon replied to this letter on the 29th of August with a formal refusal, written in such terms that Talleyrand gave up all hope. In a very few words the Emperor stated that his letter had given him pain, that he begged him to abstain from writing to him again on the subject, as his letters would recall to him painful memories which he desired to forget.

After the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of March 16th, and having been present at the marriage festivities, King Louis left Paris, where he had been detained till then, on April 8th, 1810, to

return to Holland. The Queen left for Amsterdam with the Crown Prince at the same time, but went another way. Napoleon and his brother had had a final interview, which, in appearance at least, was a friendly one. The Emperor was holding in his hand a knife, very elaborately worked, representing his statue, and fitted with blades and accessories which made it a masterpiece of the cutler's art. He handed it to King Louis, who hesitated about taking it, saying that that cut friendship. "Bah," said the Emperor, "that only cuts bread!"

The good understanding which appeared to be re-established between the two brothers was not to be of long duration. The execution of the treaty of March 16th, brought with it fresh difficulties. The exigencies of the continental system, the reciprocal broils which envenomed its application, and finally an insult paid to the French ambassador's livery at the gates of the palace, ended in a rupture. One morning whilst at Rambouillet, the Emperor heard the news of his brother's abdication and flight, no previous warning, no understanding between them being there to cover or to attenuate the bad effect which such an escapade must necessarily cause in Europe. After reading these despatches, the perusal of which was interrupted by frequent exclamations of surprise and indignation, Napoleon rose and throwing the papers on my table, deplored what he styled his brother's ingratitude, in the strongest terms. Grief and vexation drew tears to his eyes:—

"Could I expect," he cried, "such an outrage from a man to whom I acted as a father? I brought him up with the feeble resources of my pay as artillery lieutenant. I shared my bread and the mattress of my bed

with him. Where does he go to? To strangers, so as to make people believe that he is no longer in safety in France, or in the States which are subjected to my influence."

During King Louis's stay in Paris, in the first months of the year, the Emperor had threatened to pursue into Amsterdam itself all persons favouring English trade. The King had replied to this threat by giving secret orders that his capital should be defended, even by means of inundation. The Emperor, becoming more and more indignant at the ever-increasing resistance which his continental system, the only means in his eyes for forcing the English to peace, met with, had pushed his custom-house line up to the very gates of Amsterdam, and had even ordered that this city, the seat of the English trade, should be occupied. King Louis, in his extremity, had withdrawn to Haarlem with his young eldest son, who had been brought to him by the Queen in the preceding month of April, determined to submerge Amsterdam rather than to allow it to be occupied by the French troops. He notified this determination to the Ministers, but the council unanimously expressed itself opposed to such extreme measures. The King having next proposed the alternative of defending or of abdicating, the Ministers advised the latter step. In consequence King Louis addressed a royal message to the Legislature announcing his renunciation of the throne of Holland in favour of his son, and sent with this message a formal deed of abdication. He left Haarlem on the same day to proceed to the waters of Toeplitz in Bohemia, accompanied by two officers of his household, from whom he separated on arriving on the foreign soil.

He went by the name of Comte de Saint-Leu, which was the name of an estate which he possessed some leagues from Paris. The Emperor sent to his brother, at Toeplitz, M. Decazes, who had been secretary of the cabinet, and who combined the posts of secretary to the commands of the Lady Mother and of councillor to the imperial court of Paris. M. Decazes was charged to invite King Louis to leave Austrian territory, and to come and inhabit a country governed by a member of the imperial family. At the same time Napoleon wrote to M. Otto, his ambassador to Vienna, who sent off a secretary of his legation to the King, with the purpose of inducing him to act in accordance with the Emperor's wishes. Neither pressing requests nor advice could triumph over Louis's determination, nor make him abandon his resolution not to live under the influence of a government subjected to his brother's power. He even considered his voluntary exile from France as a protestation against the annexation of Holland to the Empire. Napoleon having exhausted all means of persuasion, and being touched by the bad state of his brother's health, did not insist any further, and ended by yielding to his scruples, scruples which were respect-worthy no doubt, inasmuch as they sprang from an upright and sincere mind, but which under the circumstances were eminently regrettable. Louis accordingly was free to choose his own place of retirement, and decided upon the town of Gratz in Styria, situated in the most southern part of Austria. Having heard of the senatus consultum which assigned a jointure to Queen Hortense and her children, he forbade his wife to accept anything, bidding her content herself with the private property which still

belonged to both of them, an injunction which Queen Hortense saw herself forced to disobey.

The situation of Holland was such at that time that its best means of safety lay in its annexation to the Empire. In the new state of things in Europe it was impossible to leave this little State to itself. Its incorporation into a great and powerful Empire at least allowed the Dutch to participate in the advantages of more direct protection, thanks to which it was possible for the commercial prosperity of this people to be once more called into life. Sensible people accordingly, and there are perhaps more sensible people in Holland than anywhere else, desired the annexation of their country to the Empire, and this annexation was pronounced. The Emperor ordered the young Crown Prince, who had been left in Haarlem by his father, in care of Madame de Boubers, his governess, and in charge of General Brune, the Grand Equerry, to be brought to France. Napoleon sent Archtreasurer Lebrun to Amsterdam in the capacity of Governor-general. There was a resemblance between the character and manners of Prince Lebrun and the tastes and habits of the Dutch, and they agreed very well indeed in consequence.

Napoleon received his nephew, young Prince Napoleon, who was brought to St. Cloud, and who at the time was six years old, in an affectionate manner. He told this child that he would be his father, and that when he became a man he would pay his father's debt and his own. He never missed an opportunity of impressing on those whom he had created kings what he expected from them in the high rank in which he had placed them. "Never forget," he said to his nephew, "that in whatever position my policy and the

interests of my Empire may place you, your first duties are towards me, your second duty is towards France, and all other duties, even those towards the peoples whom I may entrust to you, only come after these."

CHAPTER V.

The Duke of Schleswig Augustenburg Elected Crown Prince of Sweden—His Death—Troubles on this Occasion—Some Swedish Officers ask Bernadotte to Replace this Prince—Preference Given by the Emperor to Prince Eugene, Who Refuses—Assent Given to Bernadotte's Election—Retrospective Review of this Marshal's Political Career—Fouché's Disgrace—His Refusal to Restore the Papers of His Ministry—General Savary Created Minister of Police—Anecdote—General Foy Sent to the Emperor by Marshal Masséna—Particulars About this General—His "History of the War in the Peninsula"—Rupture of the Morlaix Negotiations for the Exchange of Prisoners—Principal Events in 1810—Reunion of the Hanseatic Towns of Mecklenburg and Oldenburg—Misadventure Which Happened to Prince Bénévent—Singular Fortunes—French Favourites of the Pasha of Jerusalem and of the Emperor of Morocco—Roustan—His Mother—Review of the Police Reports—Order Given for the Recall of Certain Royalists whose Names were Mentioned in the Reports—The Exile of Mesdames de Chevreuse, Staël, and Récamier is Maintained—Napoleon's Kindness Towards His Servants—His Generosity—Carnot—His Letter—Chénier—Pougens—Pension Granted to Palissot—Napoleon Susceptible to Friendship—Marshal Marmont—Prince de Neufchatel—M. de Las Cases—On the St. Helena Manuscript—Prince de Bénévent—Madame Grant—Purchase of the Monaco Mansion—Napoleon's Friendship for Alexander—This Prince's Cypher is Effaced on the Bas-relief of the Column in the Place Vendôme—Sitting with Reference to Him at the State Council—Clandestine Circulation of the Bull of Excommunication—Address from the Metropolitan Chapter to the Emperor—National Council in Paris—Particulars—Declaration of the French Clergy written by Bossuet—The Decision of the Council—Factious Opposition of some French Bishops—The Emperor's Policy with Reference to the Court of Rome—Strict Order Introduced into the Financial Department—Reason of the Emperor's Objection to Public Loans—Loans Made to Commercial and Banking Houses—The State Budget Fixed Each Month by the Emperor—Encouragements Given to Industry—A Prize of One Million Promised to the Inventor of a Flax-Spinning Machine—The Empress *Enceinte*—M. de Mesgrigny is Sent to Vienna on this Occasion—Communication to the Senate—Madame de Mailly treated like a Marshal's Wife—Presentation of Lyons Manufacture to the Empress—Creation of the Society of Maternal Charity—Madame de Montesquiou is Appointed Governess of the King of Rome—Painful Labour—Napoleon's Anxiety—Fear for the New-born Child—This Anxiety is Dispelled—A Hundred and One Cannon Shots—General Enthusiasm—Mission Given to the Pages and the Officers—Private Baptism—French and Austrian Orders Deposited on the Cradle—Reflections on this Subject—Reception of the Great Corporations of the State—Drawbacks of Familiarity—Anecdote on General Lannes—The Page Gudin—Anecdote Concerning a Milliner—Poetical Homage—Casimir Delavigne—Lebrun—Child's Song Composed by Madame de Genlis—Gérard—Prudhon—Extraordinary Foreign Embassy—Doctor Dubois is Magnificently Rewarded—His Declaration to Napoleon—The Empress's Churching—Hopes for Lasting Peace—Journey to Rambouillet—The King of Spain Comes to See the Emperor There—Object of His Visit.

BERNADOTTE'S election as Crown Prince of Sweden was so important an event that it seems to me necessary to speak of it with the most circumstantial details. After the deposition of Gustavus IV., the Duke of Sudermanie, this king's uncle, was called to the throne. As the Duke had no children, the Diet, on his proposal, elected Prince Christian of Schleswig Augustenburg, Crown Prince of Sweden, and he became the idol of the Swedish nation. Unfortunately he died suddenly of a stroke of apoplexy in the month of January, 1810, whilst engaged in reviewing a regiment. The people, embittered by this death, which they refused to believe was a natural death, broke out into a violent revolt, in which Count Fersen, Marshal of the Court, lost his life. The death of the Duke of Augustenburg was a misfortune profoundly to be regretted. If this prince had lived, a good understanding would have been maintained between France and Sweden. He had asked the Emperor for one of the princesses of his family to wife.

The Swedes, feeling that they needed a soldier, cast their eyes on a French general, and thought that such a choice would be agreeable to Napoleon, whose friendly disposition they were anxious to cultivate.

I am taking part of my story, the exactness of which I can guarantee because its various phases happened under my very eyes, from General Philip Ségur's work on "The Russian Campaign in 1812, Critically Examined."

In 1807, at the time of the evacuation of Pomerania by the Swedes, two brothers of the name of Moerner, officers in the regiment of the same name, were brought to Marshal Bernadotte who gave them his house as

their prison, and about a month later sent them back to Sweden. In June 1810, one of these officers, who had become colonel, sent in his name to Bernadotte, at his house in the Rue d'Anjou, in Paris, and spoke to him of the desire of the Swedes to put him in the place of their deceased Crown Prince. Bernadotte listened to this offer with amusement, and without attaching any real importance to it at first, determining not to speak of the matter to the Emperor until the proposal should have been made in an official form. Some days later an extraordinary envoy of Sweden, Baron Wrède, came to see the Marshal, and, confirming what Colonel Moerner had said to him, asked for a reply. That was on a Saturday. Next day Bernadotte went to St. Cloud before mass and communicated this news to the Emperor, who said to him: "I know all about it, and I leave you free to accept or refuse. I will act in this matter as you choose. I had charged Alquier to propose a regency, and to await events. The son of the last King might have been recalled later on, but in Sweden they do not want to have anything more to do with this family. I would rather see you there than anybody else. I will support you with my consent; take what steps are necessary."

Bernadotte sent a young man who was a relation of Signeul's, the Swedish consul in Paris, to Stockholm to arrange with his partisans, authorizing him to promise all the money that was necessary. I will add that Bernadotte's agents acted skilfully, using the name of the Emperor Napoleon to bring over those who were hesitating to their side. About two million francs, advanced by Napoleon or lent by General, afterwards Marshal Gérard, was all the money which the future

King of Sweden could dispose of to pay into the bank. Bernadotte's election depended entirely on Napoleon's goodwill, and, before appointing him, the Swedes took care to assure themselves of the Emperor's consent.

If the choice of this marshal of the Empire had displeased the French sovereign he would only have needed to express it to prevent his election. The Swedes had only cast their eyes on Bernadotte because he was related to Napoleon by marriage, Madame Bernadotte being King Joseph's sister-in-law, and wishing in this way to conciliate the Emperor's goodwill. Napoleon, however, was prompted to desire that the throne of Sweden should be occupied by a man more loyal to France, and this, through an instinctive distrust of the marshal's feelings, a mistrust which events only too fully justified. Under the influence of this prejudice Napoleon commissioned General Duroc to go one morning to the Elysée where Prince Eugene was living, during the marriage festivities, and to propose to him the future crown of Sweden. Prince Eugene asked for one day in which to consider the proposal. Duroc having come to fetch an answer on the morrow, Eugene replied that after having carefully considered the matter with the vice-queen, and having meditated on the advantages and disadvantages of this new establishment, they had come to the conclusion that they must content themselves with their present situation in Italy. He added that moreover the obligation to abjure the Catholic faith was exceedingly distasteful to his wife, the Princess. Napoleon told Prince Eugene the same day that he had perhaps done right to refuse, although he would have been much pleased if he could have accepted the proposal.

When one considers the lofty fortune to which Bernadotte was raised, one is prompted by the desire to cast a retrospective glance on the career which was followed by this factious soldier, who from a common soldier's dormitory passes through revolutionary clubs to reach a foreign throne, to which the protection of a great man raises him at one stroke without transition, without any apprenticeship to government, and in the capacity of the gratuitous heir of an ancient royal race. Having entered the Royal army as a simple soldier at the age of sixteen, he follows his regiment to Corsica, the cradle of the future Emperor whose arm he uses to raise himself. He works with his hands on the St. Florent road, and is employed in keeping the lists in the office of the Registrar of the superior Council of Corsica. He takes ten years to become a sergeant. The Revolution finds him in this rank which would have been, without it, the highest rank of his military career. At the beginning of the Revolutionary period, when all discipline and subordination was upset, Bernadotte finds himself in his element. He is to be seen in the barracks of Marseilles, perched on a bench, powdered, gaitered, and in elegant military costume haranguing his comrades, and using his Gascony eloquence to persuade them to turn out their former officers and to take their place. His activity and his smartness raise him rapidly to the post of general of division in 1794. After various alternations of success and failure he passes over to the army in Italy under the command of General Bonaparte. Here he displays zeal and adroitness. At the time of the 18th Fructidor, the events on which day were partly brought about because some Royalist

letters seized by Bernadotte on the person of Count d'Antraigue, agent of the French Princes, had been sent to the Directoire, the future King of Sweden gets himself sent to Paris bearing petitions from the army which demand the punishment of the traitors. His revolutionary exaltation is noticed and he refuses to take part in the army to England, which had been sent to Egypt, hoping to succeed to the command of the army in Italy.

Appointed ambassador to Vienna he hoists the flag of the Republic over the door of his Embassy in a critical moment of popular effervescence: an untimely and unseasonable demonstration which was calculated to provoke some outrage likely to compromise the re-establishment of peace with Austria. This imprudent act obliges the Directoire to retain the army for Egypt in France until fresh orders, in the fear that war might break out again on the Continent. Bernadotte, disavowed by the Directoire, returns to Paris and attaches himself to Joseph Bonaparte, whose sister-in-law he marries—a marriage which was to be the foundation of his fortune. Appointed to the Ministry of War by his brother-in-law's influence he is later on removed by Siéyès, who finds him too ardent. Having returned to private life he shows himself hostile to the revolution of Brumaire 18th, but has not the courage to oppose it openly. He then accepts the advantages of this revolution, having been convinced by the success of the event, and represses the jealous instinct which urges him to paralyse the arm, which, however, he will make use of to raise himself to the highest summit of honours. At the time of the publication of the Concordat of 1802, Bernadotte unites himself to

other generals to renew his opposition. Sent back to the army in the west, which he had left to go to Paris on this occasion, he continues the same intrigues and the same plotting. Surprised whilst conspiring against the First Consul, his brother-in-law, Joseph, intercedes for him, and Bernadotte escapes punishment. But clemency irritates ungrateful hearts, and he finds the weight of gratitude heavy to bear. The demagogue allows himself to be appointed marshal of the empire and Prince of Ponte-Corvo. Vested with the command of an army corps during the Jena campaign, Bernadotte refuses to assist Marshal Davout at Auerstadt, thus compromising for the sake of a detestable feeling of rivalry the safety of the entire army. He only escapes a court-martial sentence for this conduct out of consideration for his alliance with the Emperor's brother, who protects him for a second time. After the battle of Wagram the Prince of Ponte-Corvo addresses a lying order of the day to the Saxons, who formed part of his army corps, an order which was calculated to diminish the credit due to the French troops, and which was contrary to the rules of military discipline. This jealous boasting forces the Emperor to remove him from his command, and to send him back to Paris, covering his disgrace however with indulgent pretexts about the Marshal's health.

In spite of the numerous reasons for displeasure which Napoleon had against Bernadotte, he called him to a high fortune and literally loaded him with gifts and honours.

The sovereign of Sweden comes to be dethroned. His successor, who had no children, adopts a prince of the Danish reigning family. This prince dies as though for the very purpose of leaving Bernadotte free access

to the throne of Sweden. Then some Swedish officers, grateful for the treatment which they had received at his hands when they were his prisoners, and tempted as much by the hope of the Emperor's protection as by the Marshal's military reputation, propose his election as hereditary prince. In spite of this reputation, Bernadotte was never a great soldier. There were generals in the French army, having held chief commands, who were worth as much as he was, and some were even superior to him. But in the eyes of the Swedes, Bernadotte was related to Napoleon, and Napoleon had always cast the veil of indulgence over his faults. The Prince de Ponte-Corvo did not hesitate to abjure his religion in order to become king, and declared that Stockholm was well worth a Protestant sermon.

Napoleon's indulgence towards such persons as Bernadotte, Talleyrand, and Fouché cannot be explained in a way likely to satisfy what it is conventional to call public opinion. Napoleon's clemency encouraged such characters to do fresh wrongs, which the Emperor forgot, only remembering the services which they had rendered him. Even after blind Fortune had firmly established Bernadotte on a throne to which a total absence of merit gave him so little claim—after he had gathered in the fruits of his past treacheries and his recent perfidy, when the satisfaction of his ambitious desires should have rendered him well-disposed and inclined to look into his heart—he could not refrain from spreading abroad bitter and dishonouring statements about Napoleon, the first author of his fortune.

The terrible disaster which terminated the reign of that august and most unhappy man, the Emperor, the

remembrance of Napoleon's kindness, and an indulgence the effects of which Bernadotte had so often felt, did not suffice to touch a heart ungrateful by nature, and rendered implacable by jealousy and ambition.

The following details will furnish fresh traits of Bernadotte's character. His avarice and the cunning of the means which he employed to avoid paying his debts, or to get the best of his foreign creditors, won him the name of the "Crowned Harpagon," and enabled him at his death to leave behind him a treasure exceeding thirty millions of francs.

The allied powers, whilst refusing to acknowledge the foreign endowments bestowed by the Emperor Napoleon, nevertheless allotted to the holders of these endowments the arrears which had not been paid up to the day on which the definitive treaty of peace was signed. Bernadotte alone refused to carry this measure into execution, and refused to pay over the arrears due to the titularies. All the efforts of the French ambassador to Stockholm to enforce the claims of those entitled to these arrears, and to establish a principle which was not contested by any other power, remained without effect. This caused it to be said with full justice that "these recipients were, however, his fellow-countrymen, men who had shared the same dangers and the same rewards. They had a right to look upon him, Bernadotte, as their supporter and their protector in this common cause, if by any chance their rights happened to be ignored."

In 1815 there fell to Sweden a sum of twenty-five millions of francs, which was the price of the retrocession of Guadeloupe to France, a colony which the English had given to Sweden during the war, besides

twelve millions as an indemnity for the surrender of Pomerania to Prussia. Bernadotte devised the scheme of making Parliament hand over these thirty-seven millions of francs to him, this sum equalling, on a balance-sheet which he laid before the States, and which they accepted, the total of the debts of Sweden previous to 1815, and undertook to pay off these debts himself. Having secured the consent of the States General he began by considering himself as a privileged creditor. He kept back, for himself, the amount which he considered due to him in compensation for the loss of the principality of Ponte-Corvo, and of his private fortune, spent for his establishment in Sweden—two claims which he consented to reduce to a total of twelve millions of francs. Bernadotte next devoted his attention to profiting by the remaining twenty-five millions by means of various transactions in which he was seen to display all the subtleness of a procurator combined with the power which he exercised as king. It would take too long a time to relate in all their details the tricks, worthy of Molière's miser, which Bernadotte employed to reduce the total of the debts which the States had charged him to pay off in the lump. We will, however, mention some examples.

Denmark had a claim, for supplies furnished to the Swedish army, to a sum which had already been fixed after discussion at eighty thousand Hamburg crowns. The Danish creditors were so discouraged by the delays and postponements to which they were subjected, that, wearied out, they resigned themselves to the receipt of only thirty-seven thousand six hundred crowns. An American debt which was due from the sale of cargoes of cotton seized at Stralsund, in 1812,

by the French, but afterwards sold by Sweden, which was to hand over the price realized to the American merchants, was reduced, after ten years haggling, by two fifths. The debts contracted with the formal sanction of the States towards the family of Gustavus IV., by way of indemnity for the private property which it possessed in Sweden, were in their turn reduced by twenty-five per cent. A Genoese debt of twelve millions, after chicaneries of all kinds, prompted mainly by the intention of realizing profits on the coin-currencies and the exchange, was finally discharged—although it had been declared absolutely lawful—with a draft on London for ninety-nine thousand pounds sterling. The King of Sweden further deducted a sum of four thousand crowns from this sum, pretending that the philanthropy of the Genoese would not refuse this subsidy to one of the philanthropic establishments of Stockholm. And lastly Bernadotte, desiring to liquidate the Saxon loan, offered the bondholders seventy per cent. of their claims. The majority resigned themselves and accepted this offer. As to the others, all kinds of manœuvres were brought into play against them to force them to agree. All the preceding details have been taken from official documents.

When, after the death of the Emperor Alexander, Bernadotte's powerful protector, Prince Gustavus Wasa entered the service of Russia, this event caused the royal intruder to fear that the interest taken by the Russian Government in the son of the exiled monarch might develop in a perilous manner. A doubt as to the stability of his dynasty arose in the mind of the former Marshal of the Empire, and he expressed himself in the following very characteristic manner:

"My son will very probably have a kingdom. He is sure to have thirty millions."

I have to speak of Fouché's disgrace, which is important on account of its cause. The double negotiation opened by this minister in London, without the Emperor's knowledge, concurrently with the overtures for peace which the King of Holland was making there through the agency of M. Labouchère, was the cause of this disgrace. Napoleon had closed his eyes to the agreement which had been made between Fouché and the Prince de Bénévent after the battle of Essling and the landing of the English expedition in the island of Walcheren. Until then an open antipathy had separated these two ministers. Their intimacy manifesting itself under such circumstances was bound to inspire the Emperor with well-founded suspicions. The audacity of Fouché in dealing with a hostile government without Napoleon's participation, could not remain unpunished. It would take up too much space to enter into the details of this culpable intrigue, and these are besides matters of public knowledge. Ouvrard, the agent in this underhand negotiation, had, it is true, written to the Emperor to ask his authorization to act in the matter, but Napoleon, knowing this person's presumption, looked upon his desire to interfere in diplomatic affairs as a ridiculous one, and—never dreaming that he would dare to give effect to these plans without his consent—did not condescend to answer his letter.

The regrets expressed by the Faubourg St. Germain at the news of the dismissal of Minister Fouché, the former bloody terrorist, are worthy of notice. He had known how to persuade this last stronghold of the

opposition that it was he who was its protector with Napoleon, and that if any member of this opposition fell into disgrace it was because it had been out of his power to prevent it, but that he might be relied upon to destroy, or at least to attenuate, the effects of this severity. It might have been said that Fouché held Napoleon under the effects of a charm, for with the best reasons for dismissing him, the Emperor still hesitated. One day, at St. Cloud, having, according to a very usual custom of his, come and seated himself on a corner of my writing-table, Napoleon said to me, after some words of no importance, and with a brusque change of subject: "Méneval, I have a mind to dismiss Fouché." This remark seemed to be the expression of a yet undecided state of mind, Napoleon trying to come to some definite determination. I could not prevent myself from exclaiming: "Sire, I expected this, and I am only surprised at one thing, and that is that you haven't sent him away before." He rose slowly without answering me, took one or two turns in the study with his hands behind his back, and then occupied himself with some other matter. This hesitation on the Emperor's part showed to what an extent Fouché possessed the art of rendering himself necessary, or rather what difficulty Napoleon felt in separating himself from persons to whom he had been long accustomed, even when his confidence in them had been greatly shaken.

Fouché, after his disgrace, retired to his château at Pontcarré, but first took care to carry off with him, or to destroy, the most important papers at his ministry. The Emperor not wishing to leave his letters in the hands of a man whom he considered capable of

making a bad use of them, sent Prince de Neufchâtel and his friend the councillor of state, Réal, to ask for these papers; but Fouché persisted in denying that he had carried off any papers. Although the Emperor was extremely irritated by Fouché's disguised refusal, he did not wish to take steps against him. Reflection having inspired the ex-minister with the fear of the consequences of the Emperor's resentment, he ended by making up his mind to hand over Napoleon's letters. Napoleon being unwilling to leave the restless mind of this dangerous intriguer without food, and especially wishing to remove him from France, appointed him Governor-general of the Illyrian provinces. He had later on reason to repent not having put it out of the power of this unhallowed individual to do harm.

More than one ambition was aroused by the vacancy at the Ministry of Police. The Emperor had reserved this portfolio *in petto* for General Savary, who afterwards became Duke de Rovigo, and who at that time was one of his aides-de-camp. He was anxious in rewarding the services of this general officer to employ his talents and his devotion to his person in a useful manner. Duke de Bassano had proposed Senator Sémonville, which, without speaking unjustly, was a mistake on his part. Napoleon had not replied negatively. Accordingly, when one day he told M. de Bassano that he would declare his choice on the morrow, the Duke thought the chances in favour of his protégé and advised him in a confidential manner to go to St. Cloud. M. de Sémonville arrived provided with a parcel which contained his senator's coat and sword, and the hat with the white feathers, and waited

with anxiety at Madame de Bassano's house. On leaving mass, the Emperor ordered M. de Bassano and General Savary to be brought to his cabinet. The latter, who had no idea of the favour in store for him, was just preparing to return to Paris, his week's service being terminated. The general was on a call to Madame de Bassano, when he saw an outrider from the imperial stables ride up, leading a horse, who told him that the Emperor wished to see him at once. Savary, who could not mount on horseback in shoes and stockings, asked for the loan of a pair of the Duke's riding-boots. Bassano had immense calves, so that Savary had all the room he wanted in his boots. Savary put his shoes in his pockets, so as to have them in readiness to put on again before entering into the Emperor's presence, jumped on the horse which had been brought for him, and rode off at a gallop to the palace. The Emperor, who was tired of waiting, was just going out when the general arrived. Great was the latter's surprise, and no less the surprise of the Duke de Bassano, who was in the Emperor's cabinet, when Napoleon addressing the latter and pointing to General Savary said: "Here is my Minister of Police." It was a *coup de théâtre*, which was repeated at Madame de Bassano's house in front of M. de Sémonville, when the Duke, bringing Savary back told them both: "Here is the Minister of Police."

In the meantime General Foy arrived in Paris. He had been sent by Marshal Masséna to explain to the Emperor the critical position in which the French army found itself before Lisbon, at the end of 1810. Napoleon wishing to reoccupy Portugal, which General Junot had been forced to abandon after the convention

of Cintra, had charged Marshal Masséna with this important operation. Prince d'Essling had prefaced the invasion of Portugal with the taking of the towns of Ciudad-Rodrigo and Almeida. After the defeat at the battle of Bussaco, he had arrived in front of the lines of Torres-Vedras, an immense entrenchment covering over fifteen leagues, at which the English general had been working for the past six months, and which was defended by an Anglo-Portuguese army, which was three times greater than ours. Not being able to attack these formidable lines face to face, the Marshal was forced to blockade it whilst waiting for reinforcements. He then decided to send General Foy to the Emperor to acquaint him with the state of affairs, to ask him for instructions, and especially for funds. General Foy, who in this campaign had displayed courage and talent, was only known to Napoleon by the opposition which he had always manifested against the imperial government. A friend of General Moreau and of General Lecourbe, he had shown himself very partial towards the former at the time of his trial. When Napoleon became Emperor, General Foy refused him his vote, and would not add his name to the congratulations which his comrades addressed to the new Cæsar. Foy was colonel of artillery at the time. This inflexibility of principle had not put a stop to his career, for he had been appointed general of brigade on his arrival in Portugal. General Foy's antecedents were not, however, calculated to dispose the Emperor in his favour. But when Napoleon had listened to him he showed himself extremely satisfied with the clear way in which the general had answered his numerous questions as to the position of the French

army, its operations, and its resources. The Emperor was much pleased with this officer. Hearing that he had lost his carriages, and had run great dangers on his journey, Napoleon ordered a sum of twenty thousand francs to be paid to him, and appointed him at the same time general of division. He had conceived so high an opinion of General Foy's character and talents that he designed him *in petto* for the dignity of marshal, a distinction which he also reserved for General Gérard and Generals Clausel and Lamarque.

Up till 1814, General Foy continued to show the same bravery and the same talents in war. Having returned at that time to private life, he devoted his leisure to study. Elected by the electors of his department to represent them at the Chamber of Deputies, this eminent general became one of the most eloquent of orators. He figured in the ranks of the opposition and showed himself the most indefatigable and the most skilful champion of the guarantees stipulated for in the Charter, the most resolute adversary of the unpopular laws proposed by the government of the Restoration. He often used to combine with his magnificent speeches in patriotic defence of public liberties, attacks against the fallen government, which were not always fair or just. He used at times to tell his friends, who blamed him for it, that he did this to be consistent. General Foy, animated, without any possible doubt, by sincere patriotism, charged Napoleon with the commonplace crime of having immolated liberty, so as to strike a simultaneous and indirect blow at the illiberal methods of the royal government, by warning it of the danger of governing in an arbitrary

manner, and by accusing it of favouring in this way the underhand growth of the counter-revolution. Mistaking, with this object in view, the spirit of the acts of the preceding government, the general did not take sufficiently into consideration the abnormal and extraordinary circumstances in which the holder of the sovereign power had found himself placed.

After General Foy's death there was published a work on the war in the Peninsula, which this soldier had written during the leisure of peace and of his legislative career. The injustice and the mistakes which disfigure this work, which otherwise is a very remarkable one, are to be attributed, it is said, as much to the author, as to the publisher of this book, who in various places has exhibited his ignorance of military matters in the story of the conduct of this war, and a superficial acquaintance with the events which during this period occurred in Spain and Portugal. General Foy had not had the time to finish this work, and only left behind him unfinished notes, on which the "History of the War in the Peninsula" was written. *

In the month of November 1810, the negotiations,

* Count Maximilien-Sebastien Foy. Born at Ham, 1775, artillery lieutenant in the Belgian campaign (1791-1792), colonel in 1801, defended the Dardanelles against the English fleet in 1807, promoted general of brigade in Portugal in 1808, general of division in 1810, sent to Spain with his army, covered the retreat from Salamanca (1812), was wounded at the battle of Toulouse and again at Waterloo, appointed army inspector by Louis XVIII. in 1814, elected deputy of Somme department in 1819. Amongst his most important speeches were his speeches against the press law in 1819, the electoral law in 1820, and against French interference in Spain in 1820. He died in 1825. His funeral was a national one. A million francs were subscribed for his family. His "*Discours*" were published in 1826, and the History alluded to by Méneval in 1827 (4 vols. in 8vo.)—R. H. S.

opened eight months previously, with the English Government for an exchange of prisoners came to an end without any result. These negotiations were being pursued on behalf of France by M. de Moustier, who had been employed with me at the Congress of Lunéville, and on behalf of England by Mr. Mackenzie. The French Government had previously proposed various systems of exchange, stimulated by the desire to rescue thousands of French prisoners from hideous captivity on the English pontoons. The system of exchange which England seemed to prefer was the exchange of all the prisoners, both native and allied, *en masse*. When it became a question of drawing up the clauses referring to the arrangement which had to be come to in this matter, difficulties arose. The English plenipotentiary, adopting, in appearance, the bases agreed upon, wished to insert ambiguous clauses, the result of which would have been that the English Government would first of all have withdrawn all the prisoners of English nationality, exchanging them for an equal number of French prisoners. Now, from the proportion of French and English prisoners, twenty thousand prisoners would have remained in England to be exchanged for Spanish prisoners. The liberation of these Spanish prisoners was subordinated to the impracticable condition of having to open and follow up preliminary negotiations with the Spanish juntas, which were all independent of each other, and which did not compose a regular government. Our wretched countrymen would accordingly have been prisoners for an indefinite time on the English pontoons, for England attached little importance to the lives of the allies who fought for her and who were in her pay. All

the efforts of the French Government to effect the admission, in an agreement, of equitable and reciprocal conditions remained without result from the British Ministry, and the English negotiator broke off the conferences, and pressed for the return of his credentials. This new attempt in favour of the unhappy victims of war failed before the cold and selfish policy of England.

The events which I have described in a summary manner are not the only occurrences which marked the year 1810, which was more fruitful in important events than any other year of the Empire. 1810 witnessed also the surrender of Hanover to the King of Westphalia; the creation of the Grand-duchy of Frankfort, the succession to which became the appanage of the viceroy of Italy; the commencement of the revolution in America,* the signal for which was given by Caracas† in separating from the metropolis; and the incorporation of Valais, of the Hanseatic cities, and of Oldenburg into the Empire.

The annexation of Valais to the Empire followed that of Holland, and Valais became a new department under the name of the Simplon department.

The immense development which English commerce had taken in the German Ocean, and in the Baltic, where England had important markets, in Heligoland and elsewhere, the evident favour which was accorded to her by the States on this seaboard, rendered the system of a continental blockade an illusory one. The uselessness of the efforts made by France to oppose collusion and smuggling, and to remedy the

* South America.

† Now the federal capital of Venezuela.—R. H. S.

inactivity of several governments, made Napoleon determine to occupy the German countries situated between these two seas. The edicts of the British council, in tearing up the charters of European international law, authorized the use of even the most violent measures for combating the odious maritime tyranny of England. It was indispensable for the success of the system which had been adopted for the enfranchisement of the seas that the mouths of the Escaut, the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe should be hermetically closed against the English. The only way of becoming absolutely master of these positions was to place them under French administration. It was for this reason that the French Government declared in a senatus consultum, dated December 14th, 1810, that the Hanseatic cities, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, and the districts situated at the mouths of the rivers mentioned, formed integral parts of the French Empire. These acquisitions of territory formed ten new departments.

To these great events, which are of public notoriety, I must add the recital of certain facts of less general interest, which happened about the same time.

A singular occurrence added a fresh grievance to all those which the Emperor already had against M. de Talleyrand and increased the latter's rancour. Talleyrand had a nephew, Augustus de Talleyrand, who had sought in marriage a rich heiress of Orleans. This lady's guardian insisted that the suitor should prove himself possessed of a fortune of three hundred thousand francs before granting his ward's hand. M. Augustus de Talleyrand applied to his uncle, who consented to advance him this sum, his nephew hoping to be able to refund the advance

in time. The promissory note which he signed remained in the hands of his uncle, who promised not to let it pass out of his possession. Later on, however, M. de Talleyrand being himself short of money, passed the note on to a third person, who came and asked Augustus de Talleyrand to pay it. He was at that time ambassador to Switzerland. Surprised by this sudden demand, his first impulse was to accuse his uncle of having broken faith. Madame Augustus de Talleyrand, greatly upset by this occurrence, started off at once for Paris from Berne. She presented herself at the Emperor's levee, her husband being one of the Emperor's chamberlains, and told him of the difficulties in which M. de Talleyrand had cast his own nephew. Napoleon, informed of all the circumstances, summoned his Archchancellor, and ordered him to express his displeasure to M. de Talleyrand for the disgrace which his way of behaving had brought upon a man who was representing France abroad, and finally insisted that the note should be called in without delay. M. de Talleyrand was forced to comply, but this direct interference of the Emperor in his family affairs seemed to him a gratuitous provocation, and awoke in him a resentment which poured a fresh dose of gall into his heart.

In these days of extraordinary fortunes, two Frenchwomen who had started from lowly origins acquired an influence in the East which, on more than one occasion, they placed at the service of their countrymen.

One of these modern Roxelanas was the wife of an infantry sergeant, and had been sutler to the regiment in which her husband had served during the French expedition to Egypt. The chances of war threw her into the power of the Pasha of Jerusalem. Claimed

by order of General Kléber, at that time in command of the French army in Egypt, this woman, satisfied with her new position, and being in the Pasha's good graces, refused to give up these advantages to return to the precarious position which she had formerly occupied. She remained after that time at the Pasha's court in Jerusalem, but never forgot in the midst of her splendour that she was a Frenchwoman and a Christian. She used the influence which she owed to the Pasha's favour, accordingly, in protecting the Christian establishments in Syria. Napoleon, having heard of this, gave orders to our consuls to put themselves into communication with her, and to profit by her influence. She rendered them certain services for which she was rewarded.

Another Frenchwoman, a Corsican from Balagna, had been taken prisoner by the Barbary pirates, who sold her to the Sultan of Morocco. He made her his favourite. She had a brother in France whom she thought it her right to recommend to the Emperor. Napoleon, yielding to the influence of this woman's strange destiny, was anxious to respond to the confidence which his countrywoman had placed in him. He accordingly gave orders that this brother should be found, and was disposed to do something for him, but was obliged to abandon this project on hearing that the man could neither read nor write, and was totally unfitted for anything.

The story of Roustan, Napoleon's famous mameluke, in some way resembles these extraordinary destinies. I will accordingly take this opportunity of recording it. Roustan received one day a letter from his mother, who was a slave, I believe, in Turkey. She wrote to

her son, of whose good position in France she had heard, to give him her news. Roustan was transported with joy on hearing that his mother was still alive. Napoleon ordered me to answer the letter, and to ask Roustan's mother what he could do for her; but my letter, for what reason I do not know, was never answered. Roustan was born in Georgia, and his father, who had become doctor to the Pasha, had sent for his wife to join him with their two children. Pirates kidnapped the three during their journey, and divided the prisoners amongst themselves. Roustan, sold in Egypt, was brought up in the house of Koraïm, Bey of Alexandria, in the mameluke noviciate. After the death of the Bey, sentenced by court-martial as guilty of having communicated with the English fleet, Napoleon took Roustan into his service, and brought him back to France. Roustan was still in ignorance of what had become of his mother and his sister. He accompanied Napoleon on all his journeys, acting as his outrider and, occasionally, as his valet. He had become inseparable from Napoleon, and no picture of Napoleon was ever painted without the silhouette of his mameluke being placed behind the Emperor's portrait. Roustan adapted himself entirely to French customs. He married a daughter of one of the Empress's ushers, and had several children by her. At the time of the abdication, in 1814, Roustan could not stand the test of adversity. He disappeared from Fontainebleau, on the eve of the day on which Napoleon was to leave France for the island of Elba, carrying off a sum of money which had been given him to compensate his wife for the prejudice which his absence might cause her. His weariness of the agitated life which he had

been forced to lead for so long a time, the uncertainty of the future, and the pleasures of the domestic hearth, weighed more in his eyes than the fidelity which he owed to Napoleon, and blinded him to the ingratitude of which he was guilty in abandoning a master who had loaded him with acts of kindness.

In 1810 the Emperor ordered the notes concerning several people in the Faubourg St. Germain, whose removal Fouché had demanded, which were in the offices of the Ministry of Police, to be laid before him. He was surprised at the trifling nature of the complaints made against them, and ordered that these persons should be recalled from exile. Four or five of them alone were excepted from his amnesty, amongst others Mesdames de Chevreuse and Staël, whom Napoleon knew personally, and whose malicious way of talking displeased him. One of them was in constant conspiracy against his authority, the other was of an irremediably hostile disposition. The Emperor, deeming them incorrigible, as well as Madame Récamier, one of Madame de Staël's henchwomen, forbade them to live in Paris in the strictest terms, without assigning limits of time to this ostracism.

On the same occasion Napoleon wished to inform himself what was the real state of affairs in the Faubourg St. Germain which certain persons, from prejudice or by interest, tried to make him look upon as a bogey. He ordered information, accordingly, to be supplied, of influential families who were known for their active opposition or for their harmless sulking against the new order of things. I drew up a kind of dictionary, with this purpose in view, by help of

the contradictory notes supplied by MM. de Talleyrand, Sémonville, Duroc and the Minister of Police; but I do not think that the Emperor ever consulted it, and it has since remained in my hands.

I have related above with what hesitation Napoleon separated himself from Fouché, in spite of the fact that there were reasons for complaint against him, which were only too well-founded, and this in consideration of the useful services which he had rendered him, especially at the time of his accession to power. Bourrienne was another example of that feeling of instinctive benevolence which attached Napoleon to anybody who could invoke "old times" before him. This benevolence, this remembrance of services rendered in an elevated sphere, extended to the most modest posts in his household. No old servant was ever dismissed until the Emperor had approved of the report addressed to him on this subject, and it was only on the second or third relapse that he agreed to a dismissal. A poor devil of a coachman, whose constant state of intoxication rendered him incapable of doing his work, escaped being dismissed for a long time, because he had driven a waggon at the battle of Marengo.

The first usher of the Emperor's cabinet—a man called Landoire—whom the Emperor liked, and whose old and faithful services he appreciated—having lost his wife, desired, on account of family affairs, to remarry with his wife's sister. Such marriages were forbidden by the civil code. The Emperor, to whom Landoire applied, told him that it was impossible for him to grant him this request; but, vanquished by the pressing demands of the man, Napoleon charged the Grand Judge to make a report to him of the matter.

The conclusions of the Minister's report were to the effect that although the person whom Landoire wished to marry was only his wife's half-sister, the prohibition was so formal that the Emperor could not authorize the marriage without committing a flagrant violation of the law. Napoleon sympathized with his servant's grief and had it suggested to him to go and marry in some neighbouring state which was outside the jurisdiction of the civil code. Landoire could only get married in 1814, when marriages of this kind ceased to be absolutely forbidden.

If the examples of Napoleon's goodness were limited to those which I have just quoted, they would not be conclusive in favour of the natural kindness of his disposition. There is no tyrant, however savage he may be deemed to be, who has not his good moments. What I wanted to say was that this kindness was the usual state of his mind, and that it was practised on every opportunity. Even when Napoleon had thought it his duty to reprimand severely, his real disposition got the upper hand and sooner or later made amends for any injustice in what he had said. I do not want to digress too far, nor to mention the numerous examples of Napoleon's disposition to remember past services. These examples are generally well known, and I will content myself with mentioning the following, which are less so. In 1809, General Carnot found himself in debt. Since Napoleon's accession to the Empire he had constantly maintained an attitude of pronounced hostility towards the new regime. As this general's conduct was the result of his convictions, and not of personal feeling, he presumed on the sovereign's generosity to the extent

of asking his support in a critical moment and accordingly sent me, through the agency of M. Collignon, his kinsman, with whom I had been in relations, a letter in which he asked me to ask the Emperor for the loan of a sufficient sum to settle his difficulties. The Emperor being touched by Carnot's confidence in him hastened to assist him. By a delicate feeling he did not ask to be informed of the state of the general's affairs, nor did he ask him to lay his accounts before him. Napoleon simply asked the Minister of War at what time Carnot had ceased to receive his pay as a general, and ordered the arrears with accessories to be paid over to him, which realized more than Carnot needed for his debts. At the same time he granted him a pension of ten thousand francs as a former minister. Carnot, out of gratitude for the Emperor's generosity towards him, offered him his services. An exchange of courtesies then took place between them which honours them both alike. Napoleon, out of consideration for Carnot's political convictions, did not wish to assign him to a post the duties of which might clash with his opinions. He asked him purely and simply to write a book on the defence of fortified places, inviting him to give the authority of his name to the principle of defence carried to its extremest limits. Recent examples had shown the necessity of re-establishing this principle. Carnot lost no time in carrying out the Emperor's wishes, and a few months later sent him the work, together with the following letter:—

"SIRE,

"Not having been able to offer your Majesty the first copy of my work on the defence of fortified places, with my own

hands, I have begged H.E. the Minister of War to present it to you in my name. My best endeavours have been used in this book to point out to young soldiers intended for this branch of the service, the true path of duty, and to inspire them with the feelings of honour and of devotion to your person with which they should be animated. I personally have been guided in the course of my work by my feeling of profound gratitude towards you. May this feeling supplement the talent which I should have needed to carry out your wishes in a worthy manner.

"I am, Sire, Your Majesty's very humble and very obedient servant, and faithful subject,

"(Signed) CARNOT."

Later on, in 1814, when misfortune fell upon France, and the importance of our fortified places was increased by the invasion of the territory, Carnot offered Napoleon the assistance of his sword and of his experience, in a touching letter. His offer having been accepted he was sent to Antwerp, where he added example to the precept which he had so wisely and so eloquently expounded.

Chénier, having become the adversary of the Emperor, whom he even attacked in his writings, applied none the less to him for a post which he needed. As I had known him formerly it was through me that his letter reached its destination. After Chénier left the Tribunate, the First Consul had offered him the place of administrator of the post-office. It was a kind of sinecure which would have enabled Chénier to give himself up to his literary work. Such occupations were better suited for him, and would without doubt have replaced in a profitable and advantageous manner the systematic opposition which had won for him

in the Tribunate the empty shadow of the influence which he had formerly exercised in the heart of the Convention and of the popular assemblies. Chénier refused this lucrative post, although he was fond of spending money, and combined republican ideas with a little aristocratic display. He proudly wished to earn the salary of the place given to him. He asked for the place of University Inspector, a place which was more suited to his tastes and aptitude, and in spite of the wretched state of his health courageously undertook a long tour on the inspection of schools. His vanity as a poet, which could brook no contradiction, often made him forget that the spirit of conciliation was necessary in the functions which he fulfilled. A spirit of opposition, the recollection of his former political passions led him on to indiscreet attacks against the power of the Head of the State. On a report from Fouché, who until then had been his protector, the place of University Inspector was withdrawn from him. Financial embarrassment, indeed, a state of real distress, to which he was reduced by the loss of his occupation, got the better of his pride. Palissot, who liked him very much, persuaded him after a long resistance to appeal to the Emperor's generosity, and assured him that I would willingly undertake to place his letter before the sovereign's eyes. On reading his letter Napoleon was touched by the sad position into which a man whose talents he respected had fallen, and he made haste to hand over to the poet a sum of money which he needed to pay his debts. At the same time he commissioned him to continue the History of France, and entrusted him with other literary work, rewarding him with a handsome salary.

Chénier did not enjoy this new favour for any great length of time, for death overtook him in the prime of life and at the moment when his talents had reached their greatest height. *

Charles Pougens, an estimable literary man, and a Member of the Institute, had had the misfortune to lose his sight. This state of blindness had not, however, interrupted him in his literary work. Deprived of all resources by the events of the Revolution, he had succeeded in establishing a printing-office, to which he had added a bookseller's shop. He had been known to General Bonaparte, whose library he had formed at the time of his departure for Egypt. A series of bankruptcies ruined Pougens in 1803. In his distress it occurred to him to apply to the First Consul, who at that time happened to be at the camp at Boulogne. The courier who had carried M. Pougens' letter returned with an order that 40,000 francs were to be advanced to him. This loan was to be paid back in a period of four years. Ten years later half this sum was still owing, but touched by the energy of his debtor's efforts, and by his honesty, Napoleon discharged him of the 20,000 francs which remained owing, in a decision issued April 10th, 1813. It was stated in this decision that this favour was granted to M. Pougens in compensation for the suppression of his printing-office, and as a reward for the labours which he was carrying out for the achievement of his great work *Le "Trésor des Origines,"* the complete publication of which was prevented by the author's

* This is hardly correct. Chénier was dismissed from his post by Napoleon who took offence at his "*Epître à Voltaire*," and he died in (some say, of) want in Paris in 1811. What was the "handsome salary" to which M. de Méneval alludes?—R. H. S.

death. Pougens was only able to print one specimen in folio, which shows immense erudition and research, really surprising when one considers that the author had lost his sight. *

It would be easy to quote other examples and numerous proofs of Napoleon's liberality as well as of the delicacy which he employed in his way of obliging. Without referring again to his munificence towards his generals I am in a position to say that his ministers, senators, and many other civil functionaries enjoyed the benefits of a generosity to which those who were worthy of it never appealed in vain.

I had asked the Emperor for a pension on the Empire Press Fund in favour of my old friend Palissot. I haggled with him for a long time as to the amount of this pension. He did not want it to exceed 3000 francs, although he had quite recently awarded a pension of 6000 francs to the poet Lebrun (Écouchard). We had a kind of discussion, in which Napoleon consented to engage with me, on the respective merits of the two poets. He authorized me to prepare for him a draft decree granting Palissot a pension, but only one of 3000 francs. As he very readily put up with being contradicted on questions which only interested him slightly, and indeed very often gave way on these points I told him that since he consented to give

* Charles Pougens (1755—1833) was the natural son of Prince de Conti. He lost his sight from the effect of smallpox at the age of 24. He was sent to England in 1786 to conclude a commercial treaty. His principal works are the book mentioned above, the complete title of which is, "*Tresor des Origines, Dictionnaire raisonné de la langue française*" (1819) and "*L'Archéologie française ou Vocabulaire des mots anciens tombés en désuétude*" (1821—1824). He was admitted to the Institute in 1819 and was a member of almost all the academies of Europe.—R. H. S.

my protégé a pension, I could not make this amount less than 6000 francs in the decree which I should prepare for him for his signature. He answered nothing; but when I laid the decree before him Napoleon cried out. Turning round towards me he caught hold of my ear, which was a familiar gesture of his, and reproached me, laughing, at having wanted to get his signature by surprise. Then laying down his pen he repeated his objections on the inferiority of Palissot's merit as compared with Lebrun. At last, after jesting with me in a kindly manner on my tenacity, he was good enough to compound with me, and to award a pension of 4000 francs to my worthy friend, who enjoyed it until his death, which took place just at the time when the Restoration was about to deprive him of his pension.

Napoleon is supposed to have been incapable of friendship. Hatred, which has worked with such assiduity to disfigure this great character, could not fail to seek to strip him of the most precious attribute of true greatness. Napoleon had sincere friends whose friendship he often requited: Desaix, Lannes, Duroc, Bessières, Muiron, and others whose names are not before my memory just now. Misfortune is a crucible in which friendship is refined, and often dissolved, but the friends whom I have named were profoundly attached to Napoleon, and would have remained faithful to him as he on his side was to their memory.

The interest which Napoleon took in those whom he loved proves that he was capable of attachment. A general officer whom he had adopted from the moment of his entering the military profession, whom he had supported and guided with particular interest, and to

whom he had given the most favourable opportunity of distinguishing himself in war, had just been raised to the highest dignity in the army. The Duke de Raguse, after having received his nomination as Marshal, presented himself in the Emperor's tent to thank him. Napoleon said:

"I have given you your nomination, and I had great pleasure in giving you this new proof of my affection; but I am afraid I may have incurred the reproach of having listened rather to my affection than to your rights to this eminent distinction. You have plenty of intelligence, but there are needed for war qualities in which you are still lacking, and which you must work to acquire. Be it said amongst ourselves that you have not yet done enough to entirely justify my choice; at the same time I am confident that I shall have reason to congratulate myself on having nominated you, and that you will justify me in the eyes of the army."

The man to whom these words were addressed, touched by such paternal feeling, agreed as to what he owed to the Emperor's goodness, and protested that it was his intention to render himself altogether worthy of it, and to give him fresh proofs of his devotion.

I did not mention Berthier's name amongst the Emperor's friends because of his defection in 1814, and I was wrong. If a moment of error separated this marshal from the Emperor at that time, Berthier had preserved too deeply-rooted a remembrance of his old master not to survive adversity. I very nearly met the Prince of Wagram at Waldsee, a town in Würtemberg, in 1815, when, like a plant which turns its face towards the orb from the rays of which it derives

its existence, Berthier was on his way to join the person whom he called his brother-in-arms, his faithful companion in war, his wife. The Emperor on his side could not forget him. He used to say, laughingly, that when Berthier returned—and Napoleon never doubted that Berthier would return—he would take no other revenge upon him than to oblige him to come to the Tuileries in the uniform of Louis XVIII.'s guards. We may be quite sure that the Emperor would not have insisted on this.

Adversity, moreover, drew close to Napoleon at St. Helena men whose devotion he would never have had full opportunity of judging in the days of his prosperity, and amongst these it is right with others to mention the name of M. de Las Cases, in whose sympathy and fidelity the illustrious captive found consolation in his exile. Napoleon's feelings towards this courtier under misfortune are shown in a letter which is a monument of true friendship, which the Emperor wrote to this faithful servant when England forced him to leave Longwood. M. de Las Cases responded to these feelings by publishing a book, which in spite of its faults became and will remain popular.

The "Memorial of St. Helena" was the first and most powerful protest against an odious system of calumny and libel, inspired by hatred and an abuse of victory. The "Memorial" caused a publication which on its appearance excited general curiosity in Europe, to be forgotten. I refer to the "Manuscript which came from St. Helena in a Manner Unknown." At the time when this book was published the mysterious way in which it had reached England and had

been addressed to the most celebrated bookseller * in London, the strong desire to obtain revelations from Napoleon about himself, the disgust with the diatribes published against him, and finally the interest which was inspired by the greatness of his misfortune, prepared a greedy reception for this alleged St. Helena manuscript. On the other hand, the anachronisms, the improbabilities and the vulgar mistakes interspersed in pages full of lofty ideas and picturesque and characteristic expressions, held the public mind in suspense. The anachronisms were explained by the statement that it had been necessary in order to rescue the sheets of the manuscript from the inquisition of the gaoler of St. Helena, to separate them, and to send them to Europe by roundabout ways, so that the confusion which had resulted therefrom had prevented their being put in their right order. Indeed a proof of the authenticity of the book was seen in these very anachronisms because it was pointed out that no spurious author would have committed them. The mistakes about facts were attributed to the loss of several sheets of the manuscript, which had to be rewritten by somebody else's pen. These explanations, good or bad, having been admitted, the book was generally considered to be the work of Napoleon himself, amongst persons whose functions had formerly put them into direct communication with him. Reflection however, and a more careful examination of the manuscript, very soon increased the doubts as to its

* Mr. John Murray writes me concerning this book: "The *Manuscrit venu de Ste. Hélène* was published by my grandfather in 1817. The authorship was never avowed or recorded in our books. I think, however, there can be no doubt that it was not actually written by Bonaparte, but was sanctioned or connived at by him."—R. H. S.

authenticity. There were mentioned as having been its authors, first of all Madame de Staël, then Benjamin Constant. The Emperor himself attributed it to a Councillor of State whom he did not name, who, according to his statement, had been on ordinary service under the Consulate. Public opinion finally settled upon a relation of Count Siméon's, who occupied a place in the financial department in the South of France. Count Siméon, being approached on the subject, admitted that his relation was responsible for the book. The secret which the true author of the book had kept was at last confided to his family. The "Manuscript of St. Helena," which appeared fated to remain enveloped in the mystery which enshrouds to this day the *Letters of Junius*, and other historical writings and deeds, whose authors, or those who took part in them, will probably remain unknown for ever, was from the pen of M. Frédéric Lullin de Châteauvieux, a Genevese, already known to the scientific world. This writer has admitted, after keeping silent for twenty-five years, that he wrote this book, in 1816; that he carried it himself to London, and posted it to Murray the publisher. The draft of this little work, entirely written by its author's hand, and covered with his corrections, was found amongst his papers after his death, and M. Siméon's cousin readily renounced a paternity which people persisted in attributing to him.

Napoleon had an inclination for various people who made their mark in the history of this century, and amongst others for M. de Talleyrand. The latter had foreseen the future elevation of General Bonaparte at the time when the Directoire had raised the former

Bishop of Autun to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The First Consul and Emperor remembered this fact, and there perhaps lies the reason of the sympathy which Napoleon so long retained for Talleyrand. Even when guilty collusions, financial matters, and warnings given by foreign sovereigns obliged the Emperor to remove this minister's portfolio, and to dismiss him from his councils, an instinctive liking drew him back towards him. In 1803, the Emperor had asked the Pope to secularize the former prelate, a feeling of propriety making him desire to see the latter in a position better suited to the worldly career which he had embraced; but it was not the same when M. Talleyrand expressed to the Head of the State his wish to marry. The Empress Josephine, Mrs. Grant's friend, helped her with all her influence on the Emperor's mind; but Napoleon remained deaf to all her entreaties. Sometimes Josephine used to go up by the little staircase which communicated between her apartment and the Emperor's cabinet, and would come and knock at the door. One day, being alone, I opened the door. She had come to tell "Bonaparte" that Madame Grant was there, and to beg him to listen to her for a moment. Napoleon at last allowed himself to be influenced and went downstairs to his wife's rooms, where he found Madame Grant in a suppliant attitude, imploring him with clasped hands not to put an obstacle in the way of her marriage. Napoleon could not resist a woman's tears and entreaties, and promised to remain neutral, which was all he could do. The marriage took place, but was not destined to be a happy one.

In 1810, when Talleyrand had lost between fourteen and fifteen hundred thousand francs in banker Simon's

bankruptcy, the Emperor, in spite of the fact that he had real grievances against his former Minister, came to his assistance. He purchased the Monaco mansion, which M. Talleyrand wanted to sell, for two million and some hundred thousand francs. Now in purchasing this house Napoleon was acting against a rule which he had made of never buying houses or estates which were expensive to keep up, for he had no need of such, seeing that the imperial domains and castles amply sufficed him.

Napoleon also truly loved the Emperor Alexander, whom he found superior to the sovereigns of the day. The Czar's wit, his grace, and his affability had charmed the Emperor. In spite of the most caressing demonstrations, it must be acknowledged to-day that the Russian monarch's affection for Napoleon was never sincere. As to the latter, he succumbed to the charm of the cunning Alexander, in spite of all the strong reasons which he had to abandon his illusions. Napoleon had retained such feelings for this prince that he used to say that an hour's conversation would have sufficed to efface all traces of resentment between them. I witnessed, at Tilsitt and Erfurth, the charming familiarity which existed between Napoleon and Alexander, and the affectionate intimacy which manifested itself in their private and almost daily correspondence. I like to believe that amongst the causes of the profound melancholy which embittered the Czar's last days were mingled some remembrances of the moments spent at Tilsitt and at Erfurth, and the picture of the agony of St. Helena. Napoleon, without putting aside the requirements of his general policy, was filled with condescension towards Alexander. The fol-

lowing incident will serve as an example, albeit it touches Napoleon's military glory as well as his politics. Having noticed that Alexander had retained a bitter remembrance of his defeat at Austerlitz, the victor ordered his cipher to be secretly removed from the bas-reliefs on the column in the Place Vendôme, where it figured on the helmets and the breastplates of the Russian soldiers.* The Czar, on entering into Paris, had he paid attention to the matter, might have seen in the absence of this cipher a proof of the delicate generosity of his former ally.

The excommunication fulminated in 1809 by the Pope, which had passed almost unnoticed at the time, had not prevented the Emperor's marriage, nor checked the discussion of the religious questions which were being dealt with in an ecclesiastical commission to which the examination of all litigious matters had been submitted.

Towards the end of 1810 the Emperor heard that this excommunication, as well as the Papal bulls directed against the nomination of Cardinal Maury to the archbishopric of Paris, and against the nominations of two other bishops, were in secret circulation. The bull of excommunication had even been clandestinely posted up during the night on the doors of Notre Dame. Abbé d'Astros, grand vicar to the chapter of Paris, was suspected of having had a hand in this matter. The examination of this abbé's papers, and his own confessions, dispelled all doubts on this subject. But what irritated the Emperor in the highest degree

* It is said that the cipher has since been restored.—

was to hear that Portalis, the Councillor of State, son of the former Minister of Public Worship, to whom had been extended the same kindness which the Emperor had shown towards his father, had also received communication of these bulls in secret. At the first sitting of the Council of State at which Napoleon presided—January 5th, 1811—he addressed Count Portalis in very severe terms, and after a sharp reprimand ordered him to leave the room, and banished him from Paris. At St. Helena Napoleon blamed himself, and perhaps not without reason, for having humbled M. Portalis too deeply in ordering him to leave the room. He said that he should have contented himself with severely blaming him before the whole Council of State assembled. Placed between the severe necessity of denouncing his relation, and his duties towards his sovereign, who had a right to demand unreserved fidelity from him, M. Portalis's position was a difficult one. It is not my place to decide what he ought to have done to conciliate all.

I was much exercised by M. Portalis's disgrace. I had been employed with him at the Congress of Lunéville, and at the Congress of Amiens, and our relations, begun under these circumstances, had been continued. I have even in my possession letters which he wrote to me from Berlin, where he was secretary of legation, letters in which his assurances of friendship towards me are mingled with his expressions of devotion towards the Emperor. When he was recalled in 1813, and appointed first president to the imperial court at Angers, I made haste to go and congratulate him.

The arrest of several prelates and canons, compromised by the papers which had been seized at the

house of d'Astros, the grand vicar, followed on the discovery of this religious conspiracy. On the day after the scene at the Council of State, on January 6th, 1811, the metropolitan chapter of Paris thought right to present the Emperor with an address exposing its profession of faith in favour of the liberties of the Gallican Church and Bossuet's four propositions. The majority of the archbishops, bishops, and chapters of Italy adhered to the declaration of the Paris chapter.

Napoleon, full of his great designs on Italy, and with a view to opposing an obstacle to the abuse of the Papal authority, convened a national council in Paris, whose apparent object it was to deliberate on the best means of providing for the canonical institution of nominated bishops, when the Pope refused to do this. This council, composed of more than one hundred bishops of the churches of France and Italy, assembled on June 17th, under the presidence of Cardinal Fesch. The Emperor had reason to complain of the bad direction taken by this assembly. The council did not respond to his views, declared itself incompetent to decide the question of the institution of bishops, and proposed that a deputation should be sent to the Pope to come to an understanding with His Holiness on how the precarious state of the Churches of France and Italy could best be remedied. Many French bishops, the Archbishop of Bordeaux amongst others, manifested ultramontane dispositions, contrary to the large majority of Italian bishops, who showed themselves more independent of the Court of Rome.

When the Emperor was informed that the Council had determined to declare itself incompetent, he ordered it to be dissolved. The majority of the bishops

reassembled some days later, and this time, admitting the competence of the council, discussed the principal point submitted to them for discussion, and fixed at six months the period accorded to the Pope to confer canonical investiture on bishops, after which time this investiture was to be carried out by the Metropolitan or, in his absence, by the oldest bishop in the province, *without the Pope's interference.*

In the preceding month of January the Emperor had appointed an ecclesiastical commission, composed of nine French cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, for the purpose of settling these questions. This commission, after studying past history, and basing its decision on precedents, expressed the opinion that the investiture of bishops who had been nominated to sees should be entrusted to the Metropolitan, or to his suffragan, in all cases where the Pope refused to act. This deliberation was carried to the Holy Father by the ecclesiastical commission, to whom the Emperor had added Abbé Eymeri, the superior of the seminary of St. Sulpice, whom he much esteemed. After long hesitation the Pope finally adhered to this proposal. The national council, in consequence, issued a decree in conformity therewith, and charged a large deputation to carry the text of this decree to the Pope for his ratification. The Pope sanctioned the resolution adopted by the council, but he imposed on the archbishops and bishops who were authorized to give the investiture the formal obligation of declaring that they were only acting in the Pope's name. Although the Emperor's object of giving preponderance to the power and right of the national council over the papal authority, and of opposing the former to the Court of Rome, was not

altogether fulfilled, since the Pope, passing over the council's decision in silence, appeared as the final authority, this first essay appeared nevertheless sufficient to Napoleon for the time being. The convocation of a second council, in 1813, which would have completed the work of the first, was in the Emperor's intention; but events occurred which prevented the realization of this plan. Napoleon at the same time treated three French bishops, two of whom were his almoners, with rigour. They were arrested on the charge of having taken part in intrigues, of having corresponded illegally with the black cardinals, and with Cardinal di Pietro, the clandestine agent of the Papacy in France, and of having fomented rebellion amongst the clergy in underhand ways. These bishops were the Bishops of Tournay, Ghent, and Troyes. The first of these prelates was not to be commended for the austerity of his morality. Napoleon had also to fight against the resistance of his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, who could not be charged with systematic opposition against his nephew, but who disapproved of his open struggle with the Holy See. The Emperor's essay, accordingly, was only partially successful in this first council, and the majority of the upper clergy took advantage of it to preach opposition to the government. The advice of Barral —Archbishop of Tours—and especially of Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, in whom Napoleon had entire confidence, prevented the Emperor's anger from breaking out on those who had opposed him. The Bishop of Nantes, Napoleon used to say, was for him, in theological matters, a torch of which he did not wish to lose sight. The Emperor allowed himself to be guided by this prelate's advice, and checked himself

whenever the Bishop of Nantes warned him that he was about to injure the faith, or damage the interests of the Church of France. Napoleon has been blamed for not having allowed any writing or publication either for or against the negotiations of ecclesiastical affairs to appear in the *Moniteur*. Such a polemic was, as a matter of fact, opposed to his views. He was not vexed that public opinion should be lulled to sleep, or even should go astray, convinced as he was that it would come back to his side when the time came for carrying out the plan which he was meditating. Napoleon has stated in his Memoirs that he never wished to publish anything connected with his discussions with Rome. Things were not in a sufficiently advanced state for him to allow anything official to be published. He endured discussions which he looked upon in the light of skirmishing preliminary to the decisive battle that was to be fought, but he did not want these to be made public, because he feared to reveal his private opinions and thus to compromise the success which he hoped to obtain. The Emperor used to say that in depriving the Pope of his temporal domain, his object was to fortify and honour his spiritual power. The Pope seemed so necessary to Napoleon that he used to say that if he did not exist he would have to be created. But he wished to have him in his hands, and to establish him in Paris, so as to make this capital the metropolis of the Catholic world. In placing the Holy See in the capital of the Empire Napoleon would have surrounded it with magnificence and honours, but at the same time he would always have kept the Pope under his eyes. This vast ambition was a permissible one, and

he would perhaps have had the power and the genius necessary for realizing it. The establishment of the sovereign Pontiff in Paris would have been fruitful in great political results, and the influence exercised by the head of the Church over the whole Catholic world would have become the inheritance of France. That was the time of mighty conceptions; and the generations which shall follow us, in reading over the history of Napoleon, will believe themselves transported to the heroic ages.

To sum up, Napoleon loved his religion and wished to honour it and render it prosperous. This is proved by the Concordat. But at the same time he wished to employ it as a social force with which to repress anarchy, to consolidate his preponderance in Europe, and finally to increase the glory of France and the influence of the French capital. The Emperor used to say to the Bishop of Nantes, who pointed out to him how useful and how important for the unity of the faith was the visible head of the Church: "Master Bishop, be without anxiety. The policy of my States is closely bound up with the preservation and maintenance of the Pope's spiritual power. It is necessary to me that he should be more powerful than ever. He will never have as much power as my policy prompts me to desire for him."

The strict order which Napoleon had introduced into the management of the finances of the State, and of the civil list, had enabled him to amass a treasure, the fruit of his economy, not unproductive indeed, as has been thought, and moreover to have at his disposal private resources, such as the revenues of the extraordinary domain, which placed it in his power to assist

banking and commercial houses with loans or advances. These resources also enabled him to assist families in which he took an interest, and who were obliged by fortuitous circumstances, to appeal to his generosity. The lottery prizes which were not claimed by the holders of the winning tickets, the funds which were derived from farming out the right of working public gaming tables placed at his disposal further resources which he used with prudence and discernment.

He encouraged manufacturers, artists, and workmen with orders, and spent millions of francs in this way. Napoleon had conceived various plans with the object of encouraging merchants and manufacturers. He had thought of establishing in the large manufacturing centres branch offices of the bank, to discount merchants' paper at four per cent. He had also a scheme for creating pawnshops where money should be advanced on goods. These plans were abandoned on the advice of the Minister of the Treasury and the directors of the bank, and he limited himself to making advances to merchants of well-known solvency. I am not sufficiently acquainted with financial matters to speak pertinently on Napoleon's financial system. I leave it to his skilful ministers to expound its mechanism, and to point out what were its advantages and disadvantages. I will limit myself to say that without seeking to appreciate the difference between the times and situations that Napoleon had the same views on borrowing as Colbert; but also, there was no deficit. The ordinary taxes and the war indemnities sufficed for all needs. Napoleon was very well acquainted with the resources which could be derived from public credit, but it seemed to him that the time had not yet come

for France to found her financial system on borrowing. "What would be my position," he used to say, "towards the whole of Europe, with a Government which I built in the midst of ruins, whose foundations are not yet well-established, and the forms of which I am constantly obliged to adapt to new circumstances which proceed from the variations of foreign politics, if I were to subject some of these combinations to absolute methods which do not admit of modification, and which are efficacious only because they are absolute?"

At the same time the Emperor would have lacked neither credit nor lenders if necessity had forced him to have recourse to loans. But he feared the abuse which might be made of this kind of resource and the abyss which he might thereby dig beneath his feet. He did not wish to open new fields to stock-jobbing, nor did he wish to expose himself to have to submit to ruinous usurious conditions. It seemed to him that the institution of a sinking fund would become a delusion if, whilst reducing the debt with one hand he were to borrow with the other; and finally he did not approve that posterity should be burdened for an indefinite time for the benefit of the present generation. Instead of being tempted by the example of England, the enormous increase of the British national debt scared him. Napoleon had other ideas on the effects of public credit than those which prevail to-day.

What proves that on the whole the financial system of the Emperor was not altogether defective, and what spirit of order and economy presided over the administration of finance, is that in spite of the wars which were being continually carried on, fed it is true by the indemnities levied on the enemy; in spite of

efforts which seemed beyond our strength; in spite of unheard-of disasters and losses, Napoleon was able to do such great things, and in spite of all to leave the finances of France, which he had found in a state of complete ruin, in a more prosperous position than the finances of the other European States.

The question of finances leads me to speak of the manner in which the state budget was regulated under the Emperor. Each year Napoleon, in a financial council, to which all the ministers were summoned, used to fix the amount of the credit assigned to each of them according to his wants, and at the same time decided how much was to be spent in each Government Department. Each month the Emperor used to assign to each minister the sums which were to be spent, and which the public treasury would supply to this minister. During the month these sums were entered on a little square of paper ruled in columns, the model of which I had prepared from his design. I add from M. Bresson's "*History of Finance*" the following details, which are very exact:

"Thus twelve times a year, in one hour's work, the Head of the Government passed all the expenses in review, fixed the sum which each should use during the following month, and maintained, as far as it was possible to do so, a balance between expenditure and receipts; slackening or urging on payments, increasing or diminishing the funds of the departmental treasuries according to the amount of sums received, to the urgency of their needs and the changes which current events might bring with them. The minister of the treasury, moreover, was not allowed to pay the ministers' drafts unless the minister who signed the order for payment had conformed himself absolutely to the year's budget, and to the monthly sum with which he was credited."

I will add that Napoleon had made the Minister of the Treasury, Comptroller General of Expenditure and kept him acquainted with the movements of the army and other orders involving expenditure which he had given, and he did this with the object of placing the minister in a position to exercise this control in an efficacious manner.

"Never had the tax-collecting department been seen in so well-regulated a state, nor had such absolutely precise book-keeping ever been the rule in the French Financial department as under the Empire. True it is that there were some functionaries of the state who made great fortunes, but that was at the expense of foreign kings, and with the Emperor's gifts It had become almost impossible to rob the State. The accounts were in such perfect order and so greatly simplified that Napoleon could see by the lists he always had in his possession the exact condition of receipts and expenditure, of arrears, and of ordinary and extraordinary resources."

The Emperor did not lose sight of the prosperity of French manufactures, and was constantly thinking about means to enfranchise our industries from the tribute which it paid to the foreigner. The war with England having destroyed our maritime trade, Napoleon applied himself to giving a new impulse to native trade, and to our commercial relations with the allied nations. He sought out in the resources of our country such things as we could no longer import from England, and the wherewithal to replace the produce of our colonies which English supremacy at sea prevented from being landed in our ports, and an equivalent for which had to be found. With this purpose in view, Napoleon created a general council of manufactures and industries, and encouraged the sciences and arts

of manufacture, with honorary and pecuniary rewards. He stimulated industries to find the best means of substituting native sugar and coffee for colonial sugar and coffee. He also paid a good deal of attention to the discovery of an article which could be used as a substitute for indigo; and finally the Emperor offered a prize of one million francs as a reward for the inventor of the best machine for spinning flax, the advantage of which would have been to diminish the price of linen, which could then be used as a substitute for cotton. This prize of one million was to be awarded by the terms of the decree which was issued on May 12th, 1810, to the inventor of the said machine, no matter what his nationality might be. This decree was translated into all languages, and was sent to our ambassadors and consuls at the various posts which they occupied, to be made public by them. Napoleon forbade the use of cotton or of foreign wood for the furniture of the Imperial Palaces; he desired that the people who were invited to the drawing-rooms at court should dress only in silk, so as to encourage the Lyons manufactories. He declared war on Indian cashmeres, but his power was impotent against the tyranny of fashion, and against routine. The Emperor threatened the Empress in vain that he would throw her cashmere shawls into the fire. The Empress used to answer him that as soon as they could give her stuffs as light and as warm as the cashmere woollens she would be very glad to wear them. The Emperor encouraged the manufacturers of French shawls, and commissioned Isabey to make the designs of a magnificent woollen stuff like cashmere, on a white ground, with which a shawl and a dress were made. Marie Louise wore them

with some reluctance; these stuffs had not the softness which they have since acquired. The Empress used to complain with reason that her dress "griped" whenever she went near the fire.

The rest of the year 1810 was spent alternately at St. Cloud, Rambouillet, Trianon, Paris, and Fontainebleau. The Court was most brilliant at Rambouillet. There were great hunts, theatrical performances, concerts and frequent drawing-rooms. The Empress's pregnancy was declared, and announced to the Senate by a message towards the end of November. This event, which crowned the Emperor's desires and the nation's hopes, excited universal interest. The bishops ordained prayers and called down the blessings of Heaven on this happy promise of maternity. M. de Mesgrigny, one of the Emperor's equerries, proceeded to Vienna with a letter for the Emperor of Austria, in which the news of his daughter's pregnancy, then five months advanced, was announced to him. M. de Mesgrigny returned on November 13th with the replies of the Emperor and Empress of Austria, full of their congratulations. On the occasion of the announcement of the Empress's pregnancy there was a theatrical performance at the Court, and a drawing-room was held in the grand apartments.

On December 2nd, the anniversary of the coronation and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Emperor gave an audience to the Senate, which came to thank him for the communication of the news of the Empress's pregnancy, and to offer its congratulations on the happy event. There were theatrical performance, illuminations, mass, and a *Te Deum* in the Tuileries chapel. Twelve young women, dowered by the Empress, were led to

the altar by the mayors in the metropolitan church, large sums of money were distributed in charity, and, in one word, the greatest solemnity accompanied the announcement of an event which was of national importance.

One circumstance, of little importance in itself, but which nevertheless attracted attention at the time, was the admission of Madame de Mailly, the widow of the marshal of that name, to enjoy the rank and the privileges of the wives of the great officers of the crown, and the authorization which she received to resume her title of *Maréchale*. In consequence, a note of invitation was addressed to Madame de Mailly, on the occasion of the solemnity of January 1st following, and she came to take possession of the rank awarded to her. About the same time the Minister of the Interior introduced a deputation from the Lyons traders to the Empress. The deputation presented her with a magnificent dress of Lyons manufacture, which the Empress wore on New Year's Day.

As soon as the Empress's pregnancy had been made public the Emperor created a society of maternal charity, the purpose of which was to assist poor women in childbirth, and to provide for their needs and the rearing of their children. Napoleon named the Empress patroness of this society, the vice-presidentesses, being Madame de Ségur, the wife of the grand master of ceremonies, and Madame Pastoret. This society was composed of one thousand ladies designated by the Empress, of fifteen lady dignitaries, of a grand council which had its seat in Paris, and of councils of administration in the departments, and finally of a secretary-

general who was the grand almoner, and of a treasurer-general. Besides the motives of charity which prompted the Emperor to found this association he was anxious to put the Empress forward, and to win public sympathy to her side. The fund of the society was an income of five hundred thousand francs, invested in government stock, drawn from the extraordinary domain, and from voluntary subscriptions, the number of which exceeded that fixed upon.

The Emperor appointed a governess to the children of France and selected the Countess de Montesquiou, the wife of the Grand Chamberlain; a choice which was unanimously approved of. Born in a lofty rank, Madame de Montesquiou enjoyed a reputation which she had worthily won. She was forty-six years old, and a woman of untarnished reputation. Pious, her devotion was free from bigotry. She had great simplicity of manners, a firm character, and solid principles. She united all the qualities which were desirable for the proper fulfilment of the important duties which the Emperor, acting on his own inspiration, had confided to her.

The Empress's pregnancy advanced favourably. Her condition was betrayed by frequent temporary indispositions, which delighted Napoleon. He surrounded Marie Louise with tokens of his solicitude, held her up in his arms, and encouraged her with the kindest attentions. I was often present at these family scenes, in which Napoleon's loving nature showed itself. Only those who did not know him can have accused him of a want of feeling. When the weather was fine, the Empress used to walk on the Tuileries terrace, which skirts the river. This terrace had been shut

off with breast-high railings, and it was reached by means of a staircase ascending from the ground floor of the palace. Later on a pretty cottage was built at the end of this terrace, where the King of Rome used to spend the fine spring days when the Court was in residence at the Tuileries.

At last arrived the moment when the Empress was to be delivered, a moment waited for with such keen impatience by Napoleon, impatience shared, it may be said in all truth, by the whole of France. One hundred and one cannon shots announced, on the morning of March 20th, that the King of Rome was born. The birth of a prince was to be saluted with one hundred and one cannon-shots, only twenty-one were to be fired if the child were a princess. One can hardly imagine with what anxiety the first cannon-shots were counted. Deep silence prevailed until the twenty-first. But when the twenty-second boomed forth an explosion of applause and of cheering burst out which was re-echoed simultaneously from every corner of Paris. The public enthusiasm was general, and no contemporary will deny this. The bearing of the child, however, on whom such great hopes were fixed, was to be a very laborious one.

"*Tanta molis erat Romanam condere gentem!*"

The first pains had been felt on the evening before —March 19th, 1811. They were endurable until day-break, when they ceased altogether, and Marie Louise was able to get to sleep. Napoleon had spent the first part of the night by her bedside; then, seeing that she had gone to sleep, he went up to his rooms and took a bath. The members of the Imperial family,

the grand dignitaries, the principal officers and ladies of the Court had been summoned to the palace as soon as the first pains had been felt. But, towards five o'clock in the morning, the accoucheur, M. Dubois, being of opinion that the birth could not take place for another twenty-four hours, everybody had been sent away by the Emperor. Mesdames de Montebello, Montesquiou and Luçay had remained alone with the doctor, the nurse, the *dames d'annonce*, and the chambermaids. An hour after Napoleon had returned to his apartment, the Empress woke up in such pain that a speedy delivery was expected. Doctor Dubois, however, saw that the birth would be a very difficult one, and that this was one of the least frequent and most dangerous cases. The Emperor was in a state of perfect serenity, when M. Dubois suddenly opened the door and, in a great state of dismay, announced that the first stages of the accouchement were giving him the greatest anxiety. Without waiting to listen to the explanations which the doctor began to give, Napoleon cried out, from the bottom of his heart: "Above all save the mother." Then springing from his bath he hastily wrapped himself in a dressing-gown and ran downstairs to the Empress's room, followed by Dubois. He approached the bed and hiding his anxiety embraced her tenderly, and encouraged her with words of comfort. The presence of the Emperor, the calm which in appearance reigned upon his face, though in his heart he was a prey to mortal anxiety, gave courage to Dubois. The latter had asked that some leading physicians should be called in for a consultation. The Emperor had refused, telling the doctor that he had chosen him because he trusted him,

and that the Empress was to be treated just as if she were the wife of any ordinary man. Dubois commenced the painful operation with the skill and the sang-froid which he happily possessed. The labour did not proceed, the child presented itself legs foremost. The pains of the Empress increased in intensity. She was struck with terror, and cried out that they meant to sacrifice her. Dubois saw himself forced to use the forceps to free the child's head. Napoleon, a prey to silent agitation, watched this painful scene, encouraging all present by his brave attitude. At last, after many efforts, and in the midst of so much anguish, the so-impatiently-desired child came to light. It was a son, pale, motionless, and to all appearances lifeless. In spite of all the measures taken in such cases, the child remained seven minutes without giving any signs of life. The Emperor standing in front of him was following in silence and with an air of profound attention, every movement of the accoucheur, when at last he saw the child's breast rise, the mouth open and a breath exhaled. He feared lest it might be the first and last, but a cry escaping from the child's lungs tells him that his son has taken possession of life. All anxiety then ceases. In the effusion of his joy Napoleon bent over the child, seized it in his arms, with a spontaneous movement, carried it to the door of the drawing-room in which all the grandees of his Empire were assembled and presenting it to them said: "Here is the King of Rome." He then returned, and placed the child back in M. Dubois's hands saying: "I give you back your child." Archchancellor Cambacérès and Berthier, Prince of Neufchâtel, were present in the Empress's bedroom, as

witnesses of the accouchement. * The Emperor, after he had received the congratulations of those present, insisted on going in person to announce the news of the birth of his son to the whole household. He was still under the influence of the painful sight of the Empress's delivery, and said that he would have preferred being present at a battle. The news of this happy event had spread over Paris as by magic. When the big bell of Notre Dame, and the cannon made it public, a large crowd had already assembled in the garden under the windows of the palace. To restrain the crowd, and to prevent in from disturbing the repose of the august patient, a cord had been stretched along the whole length of this terrace, (which since then has been turned into a parterre by King Louis Philippe) from the railing at the Pont Royal to the Pavillon de l'Horloge. This feeble barrier impressed the crowd more than a wall would have done. The spectators, whose number increased every minute, even kept themselves at a respectful distance from the cord. General silence, a proof of popular sympathy and interest, was observed. From the interior of his apartments, Napoleon contemplated with visible emotion, this sight, so pleasant for him.

The officers of the imperial household, pages, and couriers were despatched with letters and messages for the great corporations of the state, for the "good cities" †

* Under the old regime the Queen's accouchement was public, and any and everybody was allowed to be present at the event. Napoleon abolished a practice which had given rise to great scandal on its last occasion.—R. H. S.

† *Bonnes Villes*, or "Good Cities." The word *good* as applied here was, according to the "Dictionary of the French Academy," an honourable qualification awarded by the King to certain towns of more or less importance.—R. H. S.

and for the French and foreign ambassadors and ministers. The pages, sent to the municipal corporations received great marks of favour at their hands. The Paris and Turin municipal councils voted pensions to the bearers of the happy news. The good Empress Josephine was not forgotten. Napoleon sent a page to her in Navarre, and he answered the letter which this page brought back to him, with his usual brevity but with the affectionate cordiality which he always preserved for his first wife.

On the same evening the new-born child was baptized in the Tuileries chapel by the Cardinal Grand Almoner, with all the ceremonies in use at the old court of France.

On the morrow the Emperor, seated on the throne, received the congratulations of the court, the senate, the legislative body and other corporations of the state, the leading authorities and the diplomatic corps. On leaving this solemn audience a visit was paid to the King of Rome who was lying in the magnificent silver-gilt cradle which, on the previous 5th of March, had been presented to the Emperor in the name of the city of Paris, by Comte Frochot, Prefect of the Seine, accompanied by the municipal council.

The Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour, and the Grand Chancellor of the order of the Iron Crown, laid the grand cordons of their orders on the cradle. Some days later, Prince Schwarzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, presented the decoration of the order of St. Stephen.

The forms used on this occasion, borrowed as they were from the ancient customs of the monarchy, have appeared to some severe critics as servile and frivolous

acts. They were, however, only the consequence of the establishment of the Empire. The sage, no doubt, in the independence of his solitude, the speculative philosopher, the austere republican, will look with an eye of pity on this empty ceremonial, and will see in it nothing but the practices of flattery; but it is not with abstract ideas that the exigencies of a crown must be considered. There are usages and conventions consecrated by time, which, although puerile in the eyes of those who ordain them, are nevertheless, in a monarchy, enjoined by the hierarchy of functions, by the necessity of enforcing habits of respect and deference towards those who hold the power, and finally of avoiding that familiarity which is inherent to the national character, but which is infinitely harmful to the prestige which should be preserved by the sovereign power. It would, moreover, have been unwise to isolate oneself from the other European monarchies, and, by exhibiting contempt for their customs, to keep alive a state of distrust which was already in existence, and which it behoved the French Government to calm.

I have spoken of the disadvantages of too great familiarity. Military customs indeed, republican manners, and the confusion of ranks, inspired by a spirit of equality, had everywhere authorized an independence of bearing and language which people did not seem able to moderate, even towards those who occupied the highest posts in the State. The dignity of the rank occupied by Napoleon from the time of his accession to the Consulate, and the respect due to his authority, did not allow him to tolerate this excess of

familiarity. I was still present at the games of base and of Blind-man's Buff, at La Malmaison, in which the First Consul used to take part. He had to give them up because these games gave rise to inadvertencies which could be excused by the kind of *camaraderie* which they established, but the abuse of which might degenerate into licence and cast ridicule on the person of the Head of the State. The following anecdote, which will support this theory, can do no harm to the respect due to the memory of the illustrious Lannes. One day the First Consul had ordered some Arab horses, which had been given him, to be brought into the courtyard of the castle at La Malmaison. Lannes proposed to the First Consul to play him a match at billiards for one of these horses. Napoleon consented. He wanted to lose, and had to lose, and his adversary won the match with great ease. "I have beaten thee," he said to the First Consul whom he was in the habit of addressing in the second person singular, "and so I have the right to choose." And without waiting for the permission which he did not ask, he runs up and examines the horses one after the other, and choosing the handsomest, has it saddled, and jumping into the saddle says: "Good-bye, Bonaparte. I sha'n't dine here. I'm off, because if I stayed thou wouldst be capable of taking thy horse back again." The First Consul had no time to answer. Lannes was already out of sight. To prevent a repetition of such scenes, Napoleon thought it right to remove Lannes for some time, but to show him that his friendship for him was still the same, he appointed him to an honourable post, namely that of French ambassador to Lisbon.

General Dutaillis, whilst still a simple officer, used to address Berthier, who afterwards became Prince of Wagram and of Neufchâtel, in the second person singular. The First Consul put a stop to this familiarity, at least in public.

If Napoleon, recognizing the disadvantages of familiarity, had been obliged to forbid it, he was none the less good and indulgent in his usual intercourse. He was chary of praise, from principle, but his satisfaction manifested itself in more affectionate ways. and by rewards which had sometimes to be waited for, but which always came at the right moment. There are few persons who, by reason of their offices, or through particular circumstances, approached his person who have not some instance of his kindness to relate. It would take too long to quote all the stories that might be cited in support of this statement. Another anecdote, however, which I will relate will prove that Napoleon always endeavoured to make amends for the pain he might have caused by the sharpness of his reproaches. During one of the last campaigns made by the Emperor in person, Gudin, a son of the regretted general who was killed at Valoutina, in Russia, was with him as page in attendance. This page, seeing the Emperor getting on horseback in the absence of the equerry on service, wanted to help him. In his eagerness, the young man did it in such a manner that the Emperor hurt himself as he fell into the saddle and cried out involuntarily. Epithets of "clumsy fellow," "lout," and so on, poured forth on the poor page, who slunk off in consternation at his clumsiness. The Emperor, having recovered from his accident, set off at a gallop, followed by his escort.

Having reached the place where he wanted to stop, and having spent some minutes in examining the country, he looked round and saw the doleful face of the page. Napoleon motioned to him to approach. The Emperor told young Gudin that he was obliged to him for his attention, and his assistance. "But," he added, "you should set about it differently. When you want to help a man on to horseback, you shouldn't offer him your left arm, but should support him with your right arm until he is in the saddle. Go, my lad, and remember that." So saying, Napoleon gave him a little pat on his cheek, which was a sign of good-will on his part, and sent the page away comforted and grateful.

I also wish to relate another occurrence, which chronologically is not in its place, but which can be told here in illustration of what I have said. I cannot omit it, because it merits being told just as it occurred, seeing that either with a bad intention, or perhaps without any such intention, it has been misstated. One day, whilst Napoleon was crossing the blue drawing-room at Saint Cloud, he found a woman there who was remarkably stout, and who waddled up to him as fast as her obesity would allow of, muttering some words, which, owing to the emotion she was experiencing at seeing the Emperor, were totally unintelligible. Napoleon, having asked her for her name, learned that she was Mademoiselle Despaux, a milliner, who, in spite of her marriage with Monsieur Hix, had kept the name by which she was known in business. The Emperor was very angry that, in spite of his formal and often repeated orders that no tradesmen, coming to work upon the Empress Josephine's

easy-going nature, were to be admitted into the palace, a milliner should have dared to enter the apartments of the palace and present herself before him. He accordingly at once sent for the officer of the guard, and sharply ordered him to put her out. This officer transmits the order to two gendarmes who were on duty and these led the woman on foot to the bottom of the slope which leads from the bridge of St. Cloud to the palace. Poor Madame Despaux, who was so fat that she could hardly walk, on arriving at the bottom of the slope asked to be allowed to get into her carriage, which was waiting for her, because she was tired out; but this was refused. On arriving on the road to Paris she asked where she was being taken to. The answer was: "A la Force." * The officer, seeing the Emperor's excitement, had imagined that this was the severe order which had been given. Napoleon had ordered that Madame Despaux should be put to the door. The officer thought he had said to La Force. At the idea of prison Madame Despaux fell into a violent fit of hysterics. Her husband, who accompanied her, was in a state of great distress about his wife's position, when a saviour appeared in the form of a man who ran up and told the gendarmes to set her free. General Duroc hearing with what severity Madame Despaux had been treated, had told it to the Emperor, who, indignant that his orders should have been misunderstood, charged the marshal to have the woman set free at once, and expressed his regret at the mistake, or the excess of zeal, which had been committed in his name. One can now judge how mistaken are those who said that Napoleon had had this woman locked

* The well-known Paris prison.

up at Bicêtre, where, according to the story, she expiated with a week's imprisonment the crime she had committed in presenting herself at the palace, and in disobeying the order which the sovereign had imposed.

The stage and the poets vied with each other in assiduity in celebrating the birth of the King of Rome. The publishers started a competition on this occasion—a competition of homages, in which the most famous poets took part. It would take too long a time to give all their names, but I will simply mention two young poets who gave a foretaste of their talents on this occasion, and showed signs of the celebrity which their works have since then acquired. Casimir Delavigne, who had only just left school, composed a dithyrambic poem in honour of the birth of the Emperor's heir. This ode, which was full of merit of the first order, awakened hopes for the young author which were fully realized in the future. The poem was brought to me by the good and obliging Guillard, author of *Œdipe à Colone*, a tragedy which has not been surpassed in our days in its class. This author, who formerly had received my first clumsy attempts at poetry with perfect and indulgent good grace, had remained one of my friends. I laid Casimir Delavigne's ode before the Emperor whose penetration excelled in distinguishing true merit in all its varieties. Napoleon judged this piece very much more favourably and rightly than the arbitrators in the competition had done, in which this ode only gained one of the last prizes. The Emperor admired the young author's talent, and gave orders that a special present should be given to him by way of encouragement.

Peter Lebrun, who has become a peer of France, and a director of the Royal Printing House, also paid on this occasion a tribute of homage and gratitude to Napoleon. The Emperor had noticed this young man during one of the visits which he was fond of making to the principal public schools. When Lebrun's ode * on the Battle of Jena was presented to him, Napoleon was so pleased that he awarded the author a pension of 1200 francs a year, which the latter retained. † The poet's gratitude inspired him, in 1822, with a touching lyrical poem on the Emperor's death.

The feelings of devotion which Madame de Genlis affected for Napoleon and his family prevented her from being silent in the face of the great event of the birth of the heir to the Empire, an event which gave her an opportunity of showing the variety of talents with which she was gifted. She accordingly sent the Emperor a child's song, the music and words of which she had composed. The notes of this lullaby were represented by little roses, which had been delicately drawn and illuminated by her hand. This little composition altogether was carried out with the neatness and elegance which Madame de Genlis displayed in her manual work.

The portraits and presentments of the young King were multiplied by painting, sculpture, modelling, engraving, and medal carving. Gérard made a charming half-length portrait of him, surrounded by the attributes of babyhood. Prudhon painted the imperial

* "*Ode à la Grande Armée.*"

† The biographical dictionaries state that Lebrun lost his pension, which had been continued under the Restoration, in consequence of his poem on the Emperor's death, entitled "*Poème sur la Mort de l'Empereur.*"—R. H. S.

child asleep in a shrubbery, in the midst of a group of flowers, amongst which the "Imperial" raised itself, hanging softly over his forehead. The harmony of the composition, the delicacy of the forms, the graceful abandonment of posture, the lifelike sleep, render this picture a delicious one.

Public rejoicings of every kind, a general illumination, fêtes improvised by the corporations, were the manifestations of public happiness. The archbishops and bishops published pastoral letters; all the Courts of Europe, with which we were at peace, sent their congratulations and extraordinary ambassadors to the Emperor. Amongst the number of ambassadors was Prince Poniatowski, who was sent by the King of Saxony, as Grand Duke of Warsaw, to be present at the ceremony of baptism. Napoleon, who was very fond indeed of this sovereign, and of his representative, received Poniatowski with distinction, and made him a present of £12,000 and of an estate in Poland. The Kings of Spain, Naples, and Westphalia had come to Paris in person.

Doctor Dubois, who had delivered the Empress, was magnificently rewarded. He received 100,000 francs, and the title of Baron. This *accouchement*, which had necessitated the use of surgical instruments, had been of so serious a character that the doctor had considered it his duty to tell the Emperor that a second confinement would inevitably put the Empress's life in danger. This revelation made an impression on Napoleon's mind, and had consequences which could not be foreseen at the time. The birth of other children would without doubt have exercised a salutary influence on the Empress's feelings, and, in multiplying the bonds

which united the two spouses, would perhaps have rendered their separation more difficult. M. Dubois, obeying his conviction, had acted as an honest man; but nature, whose power is greater than that of science, has hidden resources of which science has no knowledge and in this case undertook to refute the clever practitioner eight years later.

A month after her confinement the Empress was churched in the Tuileries chapel. The ceremony was performed with a certain amount of solemnity, and on this occasion Marie Louise received the homage of her whole court. The birth of an heir to a lofty position, which had been created by so many efforts, appeared destined to be a guarantee of longevity for the new dynasty. The joy which was manifested by all classes of society was principally caused by the hope, everywhere entertained, of seeing this child become the genius of peace, and close at last the gates of the temple of Janus. The Emperor had no such illusions. England was not yet discouraged. Her intrigues and her gold continued to exercise their influence over the continental powers, and the future, in Napoleon's eyes, was full of storms.

With the return of the fine weather the Emperor and Empress went to spend a week at Rambouillet, to take exercise in hunting. Napoleon was, so to speak, *en famille* in this residence, which was simpler and less vast than the other imperial mansions; but he was not able to prolong his stay there, because he was too cramped.

Joseph, King of Spain, came to see the Emperor here. Napoleon had sent him General Defrance, one of his equerries, to announce to him the birth of his

son, and to inform him that he was to be one of the child's godfathers. Joseph took this opportunity to have an interview, which he deemed indispensable, with his brother, to regulate Spain's present interests, and to come to an understanding on the difficult position which the inevitable presence of an auxiliary army, the leaders of which treated Spain almost like a conquered country, caused him.

Napoleon, weary with the enormous sacrifice of blood and treasure which the occupation of the Peninsula caused to France, had instituted military governments in the country, at the head of which French generals had been placed. King Joseph had sent MM. d'Azanza and Hervas to Paris to complain about this measure. M. Hervas had even brought with him a letter, in which the King offered the Emperor to resign the crown, and asked him for his authorization to withdraw from a country where he was able neither to do good nor to prevent evil. The King stated that the establishment of these military governments was looked upon by the Spaniards—even those who were most attached to his person—as an attack against the integrity of the Kingdom, that this negation of his sovereignty seemed to them to foretoken the future abolition of their nationality, and lastly that this dictatorship, unless it was to be a temporary one, destroyed what little good his efforts had been able to produce.

King Joseph, as a matter of fact, had just reduced Andalusia, as much by persuasion as by force, to a state of submission. He had declared to the Spaniards in this province his firm resolution not to consent to any dismemberment of the monarchy, nor to any sacrifice which was likely to injure the national independence.

He had promised that if the English would evacuate Spanish territory, the French troops would also withdraw, and the king with them, if the nation should not adopt him. These assurances had calmed the excitement of the inhabitants of this province, and Joseph had been received in the principal towns of Andalusia with a favour which was calculated to deceive him. The Emperor persuaded his brother to return to Spain by promising him that the institution of military governments, a temporary measure, which had only been demanded by circumstances, should cease as soon as they were no longer necessary. He confirmed his intention of withdrawing the French troops if the English Government, to which negotiations were to be proposed, was willing, as he had reason to hope, to evacuate Portugal, and to recognize Joseph, King of Spain, as soon as the Spanish nation should have consented to this; and if, on his side, he replaced the Braganza family on the throne. Napoleon had agreed to place the military governments under the orders of the King, and advised him to call the Cortes together as soon as possible. King Joseph returned to Madrid in the month of July with the hope that the negotiations with England would be successful, and at the same time with a promise that the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy should be guaranteed. On his return to Spain he was received with favour, as the bearer of good news which unfortunately was not destined to be realized.

CHAPTER VI.

Journey to Cherbourg—Important Works Executed in this Harbour—Ardour of the Inhabitants of Normandy—Return to Paris—Christening of the King of Rome—Christening Festivities—Fête Given by the Town—Charlemagne's Book of Hours—Fêtes at St. Cloud and at Trianon—The Emperor and Empress's Private Life—Lessons in Riding—Stay at Compiègne—Sudden Death of General Ordener—Napoleon's Affection for His Son—He Sometimes Keeps Him with Him whilst at Work—He Plays with Him—He sends Him Secretly to the Empress Josephine—Napoleon's Mother—Mutual Affection—The Noble Character Displayed by Her in Adversity—Discovery of Letters from the King of Naples which Reveal His Ambition—Witty Saying of Napoleon to Fouché—The Emperor's Refusal to Recall the French Troops from the Kingdom of Naples—The French Refuse to be Naturalized Neapolitans—Severe Reprimand from the Emperor to the King—This Prince's Great Distress—The Queen of Naples in Paris—Reconciliation—M. Daru, Minister Secretary of State—Little Sympathy Between Him and Napoleon—M. de Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs—Waste Committed in Hanover, the Hanseatic Cities, and at Erfurth—The Prince d'Eckmuehl—The Prince de Ponte-Corvo—Bourrienne—Journey to Holland, Expedition to and Inspection of the Islands of Walcheren and Cadzand—Stay On Board the Charlemagne—Stay at Antwerp and Utrecht—Dissenting Jansenist Clergy—Lesson Given to the Generals—Solemn Entry into Amsterdam—The Empress's Visit to the Villages of Broeck and Saardam—Large Court at Amsterdam—Performance given by the Actors of the *Théâtre-Français*—Friendly Feelings of the Dutch—The Emperor's Solicitude for Their Interests—Visits to the Principal Towns and Fortified Places—Return to St. Cloud—Reflections on the Annexations of States to the Empire—The Emperor's Correspondents—Barrère—Fiévée—Desrenaudes—Madame de Genlis—Her Conduct Before and After the Restoration—Lemaire—Montlosier—Dampmartin—Goldsmith—Montgaillard—Fresh Favours are Accorded to Me—Russia Prepares for War—All Napoleon's Proposals for a Settlement Rejected—Recall of the Duc de Vicence—General Lauriston takes His Place—Protest Against the Occupation of Oldenburg—Convention Against the Re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland—Napoleon's Refusal to Accept the Anticipated Ratification of this Convention—Offer to Substitute it in a more Suitable Form—The Emperor Alexander Persists in Maintaining it as Originally Drawn Up—Recapitulation of Hostile Acts which Preceded 1811—Napoleon's Efforts to Enlighten Alexander—Other Differences Which Separated the two States—The Polish Question Irreconcilable—Rupture Decided Upon in the Russian Cabinet—Mystery with which Russia Surrounds Her Arming—Denials—Ukase Forbidding French Manufactures—Plan of Attack Put Off—Napoleon Prepares Himself—Annexation of the Hanseatic Cities to the Empire—Reasons For, and Spirit Of, these Annexations—The Idea of the Continental System—Injustice of the Accusations Made Against Napoleon—Violation of an Engagement Made by Alexander at Tilsitt—Napoleon's Efforts to Maintain Peace—Mission with which He Charges Colonel Czernitcheff—Subornation of an Employé in the War Office—The System of Licences—English Intrigues at St. Petersburg and Constantinople—Spéranski's Disgrace—Napoleon Cannot but Lose by Making

War—Russia's Ambitious Policy—Fruitless Application Made to the London Cabinet—Decline of Affairs in Spain—The Resistance of the Spaniards Injures the Emperor in Public Opinion—Treaties Concluded with Prussia and Austria—Perfidious Negotiations of the Swedish Cabinet—Unacceptable Condition made the Price of its Alliance—Bernadotte Summons Moreau from America—Turkey's Defection—English and Russian Intrigues—Regrettable Delay in General Andréossy's Departure for Constantinople—The Treaty of Bucharest is Signed and then Ratified—Tardy Punishment of the Grand Vizir and of His Agents—Plan of Sending Prince de Bénévent to Warsaw—Napoleon Asks the Rank of Field-marshal for Prince Schwarzenberg—Russia's Ultimatum—Discussion on the Basis of this Ultimatum Evaded—Napoleon's Hope of Being Able to Come to an Understanding with Alexander in Spite of the War—War Inevitable.

ABOUT two months after the birth of his son, the Empress having recovered her health, the Emperor wished to go and visit the works at the harbour of Cherbourg, so as, by his presence, to stimulate this important undertaking. The importance of this harbour, situated opposite to England, had attracted all Napoleon's attention, and in consequence, from the time of his accession to power, he had continued the works there which Louis XVI. had commenced. The abandonment in which this gigantic undertaking had been left during the crises of the Revolution had entailed its almost total ruin. During the stay of the Court at Rambouillet, Marie Louise used to be present at the hunts in her open carriage and sometimes on horseback; the sovereigns then left Rambouillet for Caen, where they stayed three days. Napoleon rode over the surroundings of this town, accompanied by the Minister of Marine and the general inspectors of roads and bridges. The journey was continued from Caen to Cherbourg, where, on the day of his arrival, the Emperor, according to his custom, began inspecting from daybreak the fortifications and the heights which commanded the city. He visited the harbour, the dock-yards, the roads, and the fleet. He lunched with the Empress on the dyke, and from where they sat

at table they could see the English ships cruising in the distance. Napoleon ordered the fleet to perform their evolutions, and took the Empress on board the Admiral's ship, which she examined in all its details—a new spectacle for her. The Emperor, after having inspected the fleet, went down into the vast basin, which for many years past was being cut out of the granite. This gigantic work—a masterpiece of patience—was approaching completion. The basin, which is forty feet deep, accommodates fifty line vessels. It was worked at with picks, which only removed a flake of stone at each stroke. It resembled an immense trough, cut out of one single stone, containing many millions of cubic feet of water.

Having left Cherbourg, the Emperor stopped at Saint Lô, at Alençon and at Chartres, and was back again at St. Cloud on June 4th. This little journey, which lasted three weeks, was the rehearsal of a longer journey which Napoleon proposed to take in Holland, and for which he was preparing the Empress. The health of this princess had been shaken by a most painful confinement but she was now completely restored.

Useful measures and acts of benevolence—by which the cities, which their Majesties passed through, profited—as well as alms-giving, marked their passage everywhere. Apart from the grants of assistance, and the pensions which the Emperor awarded on the funds of the Civil List, I was charged to keep a cash-box, to which the treasurer of the crown paid the sum of 10,000 francs each month. This fund was used in connection with the presents or charities which Napoleon distributed, and which I paid over on a verbal

order transmitted to me by the aide-de-camp or the equerry in attendance. These expenses were entered into an account book, which the Emperor checked at the end of each month.

The Emperor and the Empress were everywhere received with enthusiasm. The birth of an heir to the name and glory of Napoleon had increased his popularity to the highest degree. The mother of the King of Rome shared in these manifestations of affection, and knew how to respond to them by the amenity of the reception which she accorded to the authorities and inhabitants of the departments.

Her Majesty's return to Paris was hastened by the approach of the fêtes which were being prepared for them at Paris, at St. Cloud, and at Trianon, during the journey to Cherbourg. Those festivities, which accompanied the ceremony of the King of Rome's christening, were in point of magnificence in no way inferior to that of the marriage. During the three months and a half which followed on the return from Cherbourg, the Court resided in succession at St. Cloud, in Paris, Trianon and Compiègne.

The young prince was christened at Notre Dame, in the presence of the three great Corporations of State, (the Senate, the Council of State, and the Legislative Body), the magistrates and law officers, the Municipal councils, and the deputations from the fifty "good cities," and of the diplomatic corps. The fine bearing of the troops, who made a line from the Tuileries to Notre Dame, and the magnificence of the imperial procession were an imposing spectacle; but what increased the magnificence of this triumphal march was the immense crowd of Parisian and foreign

spectators, which was so great that one might have said that the inhabitants of every house had come down into the streets and public squares. All along the route followed by the procession the houses were draped with hangings, and flags floated at every window. At the sight of the carriage in which the imperial child was lying on the knees of his governess and which preceded the carriage of Their Majesties the air re-echoed with general acclamations, and cries for his prosperity. Unusual pomp presided over the religious service. The god-father, who was the Emperor of Austria, was represented by the Grand-duke of Würzburg. The second god-father was King Joseph. The god-mother was the Lady Mother (Napoleon's mother). The second god-mother was the Queen of Naples, represented by Queen Hortense. Silence and reserve were maintained during the ceremony; but, when Napoleon, taking his son into his arms, showed him to those who were present, cheers and applause, which had been restrained by the sanctity of the act and by the solemnity of the place, broke out on every side, awakening the echoes of the ancient cathedral.

On leaving the cathedral Their Majesties proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville where the Prefect, followed by the municipal body, received them and offered them a banquet and concert in the name of the city. After the concert the sovereigns walked through the drawing-rooms in which had assembled the persons who had been invited, and with whom they conversed. Towards midnight the Emperor and Empress returned to the Tuileries by the light of illuminations which lighted them all the way home. More or less ingenious allegories and emblems interpreted the expression of

a genuine feeling. The weather on this fine day was serene and calm. Public rejoicings, consisting of theatrical performances, dances, distribution of provisions, illuminations, and balloon ascents, were offered to the people in the Champs-Elysées and other places. Public rejoicings took place in all the provincial departments.

A deputation from the municipal council of Toulouse presented the Emperor with a most costly manuscript on vellum, a masterpiece of calligraphy, enriched with miniatures picked out with gold, and with each page framed in a vignette, the design of which varied on each page. This manuscript, which was of priceless value, forming a quarto volume, bound in *nacarat* velvet, was Charlemagne's book of hours; it had cost the artists who had taken part in its production seven years' labour. This prince had presented it to the abbey of Saint Sernin near Toulouse—destroyed to-day—in memory of the christening of his son Pépin. The municipal council had considered that this monument of the arts of the ninth century, which had been preserved with religious care, would be properly disposed of if Napoleon became its proprietor. Since Providence had allowed an identical occurrence to renew itself one thousand years later, the presentation of this manuscript to Charlemagne's successor, on the occasion of the birth of his heir, seemed very fitting and appropriate. A deputation of the members of the council proceeded, in consequence, to Paris, to offer the precious manuscript to the new Charlemagne. The Emperor accepted the present and placed the manuscript in his library. This book of hours is at present in the Louvre library.

Some days after the banquet at the Hôtel de Ville

a fête took place in the private park of St. Cloud which reminded the Empress of her native country. Orchestras, dispersed in the shrubberies, played dances and waltzes which were performed by the dancers of the Opera dressed in the costumes of German shepherds and peasants. An interlude: "*La Fête du Village*," composed by Etienne, and set to music by Nicolo, was performed on an open air stage. A lady aeronaut of the day, Madame Blanchard—made an ascent in a balloon, and remained floating for some time on a level with the tops of the trees.

At a given signal the balloon rose majestically into the air. Then a large fire-work star exploded, and for the space of some minutes filled the sky with dazzling light. Unfortunately a heavy fall of rain spoiled the end of the evening, and produced some disorder.

The amusements of the Court followed one upon the other almost without interruption. August 15th brought with it the Emperor's fête and the fête of the King of Rome, which were celebrated at St. Cloud with a display of fireworks which was carried out by the artillery of the Imperial Guard, and in which the initials of the two spouses and their son figured. Anthems appropriate for the occasion were sung. Ten days later—August 25th—was the Empress's fête, and this was celebrated at Trianon. The weather had become splendid, and the delicious gardens of the Petit Trianon, the buildings, lakes, islands, of this magic resort lent themselves to scenes and combinations of which the organizers of the fête were able to make the best possible use. A piece composed by M. Alissan de Chazet, entitled "*Le Jardinier de Schönbrunn*," was

performed in the theatre at Trianon. This performance was accompanied by a ballet, which was executed by the principal opera dancers. The Emperor, with the Empress on his arm, and followed by almost the entire Court, walked about in the little park for some time. Cantatas, which had been set to music by Paer, were sung in their honour, and the fête terminated with a splendid supper.

This fête, which was the most agreeable of all, ended the series of public rejoicings given to celebrate the marriage of the Emperor and the birth of the King of Rome. The grace and dignity displayed by Marie Louise on this occasion attracted general attention. Napoleon seemed happy. He was affable at home, and affectionate towards the Empress. When he found her grave, he amused her by goodhumoured remarks, or disconcerted her reserve by embracing her in a cordial and hearty manner. In public he treated her with great respect, and with a dignity which did not exclude a sort of noble familiarity. His manners to her in general expressed an affection full of confidence. At the same time, wishing to preserve in its primitive purity the innocence which had so much charm for him, and to remove from her the suspicions which French lightness usually admits, Napoleon had established in the Empress's household an order of service by which she was so fenced in that one might have thought him jealous. Marie Louise's timidity, her love of family life, her mistrust of herself, and the prejudices with which she had been inspired against most of the persons at Court, and against the spirit of mockery which is so characteristic of the French, kept this princess away from *liaisons* which might have displeased

the Emperor, and which, moreover, had no attraction in her eyes. The habits of favouritism in which she had been brought up, and which in her isolation she needed, were bestowed on the lady who, by the advice of her husband, was admitted to her intimacy. The attachment which she conceived for the Duchess of Montebello, her lady in waiting, filled this void. Marie Louise never chatted familiarly with the persons attached to her service, but, however, always treated them with indulgence and kindness.

The Emperor wished her to take horse exercise, and Marie Louise received her first lessons in riding in the riding school of St. Cloud. Napoleon used to walk by her side, holding her hand, whilst the equerry held the horse's bridle. He calmed her fears, and encouraged her. She took advantage of her lessons, grew courageous, and ended by being able to keep her seat very well. When, to her master's credit, she had become a horsewoman, the lessons were sometimes continued in the avenue of the private park which led out from the family drawing-room, so called because it was adorned with portraits of all the members of the imperial family. Napoleon, when he had a few minutes to spare, after lunch, would send for his horse, get on horseback, dressed in silk stockings and buckled shoes, and would ride by the Empress's side. He would excite her horse, and set off at a gallop, laughing heartily when she cried out for fear of falling. It is true that this danger did not exist, for grooms were standing all along the avenue ready to stop the horse, and to prevent a fall.

After the fêtes at Trianon the court returned to Compiègne, where it remained three weeks. This

palace, where the Emperor had received Marie Louise on her arrival in France, was at that time the object of his special preference. He had ordered works to be carried out on the estate which were under the direction of Berthault, the architect, and were being executed with a rapidity which was nothing less than marvellous. New gardens had been created by this architect and an entirely new appearance had been given to the residence. So great were the embellishments that had been effected that the park seemed totally transformed. It was now one of the most beautiful and most elegant of the Emperor's pleasure houses. Their Majesties' arrival at Compiègne was saddened by the death of General Ordener, Governor of the Palace, who was struck down on the following day by apoplexy, and who died under the eyes of Doctor Lerminier. The general had come the day before to Compiègne to receive the Emperor and Empress, and Napoleon had complimented him on his good health. He regarded him as one of the bravest and best of his officers. General Ordener had a long time commanded, with distinction to himself, the mounted grenadiers of the guard. His rough plain-spokenness sometimes amused the ladies of the court, but he was one of those men who are endowed with an iron constitution—both moral and physical, rather uncultivated, perhaps; but, in any case, of a loyalty without flaw, of rigid principles, trained in the laws of severe discipline, and incapable of compounding with his duties.

In the meanwhile the King of Rome was growing in strength and beauty, under the vigilant care of Madame Montesquiou, who loved him as a son, and who had for him the most minute solicitude. He was

carried every morning to his mother, who kept him with her during the hour of her toilette. In the daytime, in the intervals between her music and drawing lessons, Marie Louise used to go to the young prince's apartment, and work at his side at some piece of needlework. Often, followed by the nurse who carried the child, she would take him to his father whilst he was at work. When he was announced Napoleon would rise to go and receive him, nobody being allowed to enter his cabinet; the nurse was forced to remain outside, and Marie Louise would be asked to bring her son in herself. The Empress had so little trust in herself in taking the child from the arms of the nurse that Napoleon would hasten to go and meet her, and would take his son into his arms, and carry him away, covering him with kisses. This workroom, which was the scene of the birth of so many skilful manœuvres intended to repel the attacks of our eternal enemies, and so many vast and generous schemes of government, was very often also the silent witness of Napoleon's paternal tenderness. How often have I watched the Emperor there, keeping his son at his side as though he were impatient to initiate him in the art of government. Either seated on his favourite settee near the mantelpiece, which was decorated with two magnificent bronze busts of Scipio and of Hannibal, occupied in reading some important report; or going to his writing-table, which was cut out in the centre, and the sides of which spread out like wings—covered with his numerous papers—to sign a despatch, each word of which had to be weighed; his son, seated on his knees or pressed against his bosom, never left him. Endowed with a marvellous power of concen-

tration, Napoleon was able at one and the same time to attend to serious matters, and to lend himself to a child's fancies. Sometimes putting aside all his preoccupations he would lie down on the floor at the side of his darling son and play with him as a child himself, looking out for what would amuse him or spare him vexation.

Napoleon had some little manœuvre pieces made. These were little bits of mahogany of different colours and lengths. The tops were fretted, and these pieces represented battalions, regiments, and divisions. When the Emperor wanted to try some new combination of troops, some new military evolution, he made use of these pieces of wood, which he set up on the carpet of the floor so as to give himself a larger field for manœuvre. Sometimes his son would surprise him seriously occupied with the positions of these pieces, preparing himself in this way for one of those clever manœuvres which assured him victory in his battles. The child, lying on the floor at his side, pleased with the colour and the form of these manœuvre pieces—which reminded him of his toys—would at each instant touch them with his hand and disturb the order of battle at a decisive moment just when the enemy was about to be beaten. But so great was Napoleon's presence of mind, and his affection for his son, that he did not allow himself to be disturbed by the disorder into which the child had thrown his strategical combinations, and contented himself, without manifesting any impatience, with putting the pieces back into their right order. His patience and kindness for his child were inexhaustible. At such times it was not only the heir of his name and glory that he loved in this

son of his. When he held him in his arms and intoxicated himself with his caresses, it was not pride or ambition which predominated in his mind.

The Emperor used to lunch alone. Madame de Montesquiou used to carry the King of Rome to his father at lunch every day. Napoleon would take him on his knees, amuse himself in petting him and putting his glass to the boy's lips, and would laugh heartily, chiding the child at the grimaces that it used to make when a drop of wine stung its tongue. One day when the child was putting its mouth out to take a piece of some food which his father offered it, Napoleon drew his hand back, and repeated this little practical joke twice. The third time, however, the young prince turned his head away, and obstinately refused to take the tit-bit. The Emperor expressing his surprise at this conduct, Madame de Montesquiou said that the child did not like people to try to deceive it, and added "he is proud and sensitive!" "He is proud and sensitive?" repeated the Emperor—"It is a very good thing. It is because he is like that that I love him!" Delighted to find these two qualities in his son, the Emperor embraced him with tenderness. He used to forget his cares and public business in these short moments, and the very few persons whom he used to admit to his intimacy during this meal hour were assured of being always received by him in the most gracious manner.

The Empress Josephine had asked as a favour to be allowed to have the King of Rome taken to her. Napoleon promised, but feared for her sake the emotion which the sight of this child must necessarily cause her. He, however, gave way before her pressing

requests, and Madame de Montesquiou conducted the young prince to Bagatelle, a small pleasure house in the Bois de Boulogne. This took place without the knowledge of the Empress Marie Louise who was animated with a feeling of jealousy, which was based on the fear of the ascendancy which a woman who had been so loved by her husband might still retain over him. The excellent Princess could not restrain her tears at the sight of a child who recalled such painful memories and the privation of a happiness which Heaven had refused to her. She embraced him with transports. She seemed to take pleasure in the illusion produced by the thought that she was lavishing her caresses on her own child. She never wearied of admiring his strength and beauty, and could not detach herself from him. The moments during which she held him in her arms seemed to her very short.

Napoleon, who was the best of fathers, could not be otherwise than a good son, and had for his mother a constant and respectful affection. His tenderness for her in public was mingled with respect and gravity. He had given her a proof of this, a proof which this venerable woman appreciated above all others, when he had appointed her Patroness General of Charitable Institutions. Napoleon's mother was a Roman matron, both in appearance and by the loftiness of her character. Prosperity had no more dazzled her than bad fortune had cast her down. Her parsimony has been jested about, but her children always found her ready to help them with her private fortune. When the Emperor was at St. Helena his mother sent him a full account of her fortune, and begged him to dispose of whatever

belonged to her, an offer which Napoleon did not accept. When somebody pointed out to her, at the time when she thus offered her property to her son, that she was reducing herself to indigence in this way: "What does it matter?" she answered; "when I shall have nothing more, I will take my stick, and I will go about begging alms for Napoleon's mother."

A pearl, which was celebrated for its size and the purity of its colour, known by the name of the Peregrine pearl, had disappeared from the Spanish crown treasury during the troubles brought on in this country by the change of dynasty. Great search was made for this jewel. I do not know what result it had, but I think, though I cannot affirm it, that these investigations led to a discovery of another kind, namely of several letters addressed to Paris by Joachim, King of Naples. To judge from the terms of this correspondence it appeared certain that Murat's friends had thought that something might happen which would render the imperial throne vacant. Fouché, Talleyrand, and others had already thought of taking their precautions in view of such an event. The Emperor, having neither children nor any fixed successor at that time, King Murat might consider himself authorized to prepare himself to establish the claims he had to this succession. This ambition was perhaps excusable at a time when every head was excited by the splendid instances of prodigious fortunes. Napoleon seemed to think so, for he manifested no resentment against his brother-in-law. Fouché had said one day that if the throne ever became vacant, which with God's help should never be, he would take measures to get as much power into his hands as possible. The Emperor

answered this remark with some words which were remembered: "You would do well. It would be your right."

Napoleon, however, thought it right to have the person in whose possession these letters were found—he was a chamberlain to King Joachim—arrested; and he was confined for three months in the prison at Vincennes. On leaving prison this officer was given the choice of returning to Naples or of staying in France, but not in Paris. He retired to an estate which he owned in Poitou, and the famous letters were deposited in the Imperial Archives.

These circumstances, and other reasons for discontent, irritated the King of Naples. His bad temper broke out when he was ordered to send a contingent of Neapolitan troops to join the French army. From the month of August of this year, 1811, the signs of a misunderstanding with Russia, and the hidden preparations for war which were beginning to be made by this power, obliged the Emperor to increase the garrison at Dantzig, and to put the French army on a larger footing.

King Murat wished the Emperor rather to recall the French soldiers who had remained in the Kingdom of Naples. Napoleon had refused to do this, and then Joachim wanted to exact that the French who had remained in his service should naturalize themselves Neapolitan subjects. All the French asked for their leave, with the exception of one general, who occupied a high position in the King's household. General Exelmans, and generals and civil officers who were strongly attached to the king, and who had been presented with important offices at court, preferred to

give up all these advantages rather than to lose their French nationality. Napoleon received with indignation the news of the pretensions set up by the King, his brother-in-law. A severely-worded decree reminded Murat of the fact that his kingdom was an integral part of the French Empire, and that the sovereign seated on the throne of Naples owed his crown to French valour. This decree proclaimed with cold disdain that every French citizen was *de jure* a citizen of the kingdom of Naples, and that any measure to the contrary, emanating from King Joachim, might in no case be applicable to French subjects. The King of Naples could not endure with calm the humiliation thus inflicted on him. The struggle of the opposite feelings of wounded pride and passionate affection for the Emperor, which raged within him, very nearly drove him mad. I have heard the Queen, his wife, say that she kept her husband isolated from everybody for two whole days, for fear that anybody should see the state of aberration into which he had fallen. In his rage King Joachim had even wished to exile the Queen to Castellamare, because she disapproved of the conditions of naturalization imposed on the French. Returning to a better state of mind Murat sent his wife to Paris to make peace with Napoleon. Napoleon really liked Joachim Murat. He spoke severely at first about his brother-in-law, but soon all traces of dissent disappeared on both sides. The King of Naples returned, as in the good times of the past, to bring to our ranks during the war with Russia, which broke out in the following year, the assistance of his heroic valour and the enthusiasm with which he knew how to inspire his troops, and especially the cavalry.

In the spring of 1811 there was a change in the Ministry, a circumstance which till then had only happened very rarely. As a matter of fact during Napoleon's reign, the Ministers were, so to speak, irremovable. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone did not participate in this immutability. The vicissitudes undergone in consequence of the troubled state of our relations with Europe necessitated an occasional change in the direction of foreign affairs. In consequence, Count Daru entered the Ministry, where he took the place of the Duc de Bassano, who himself had replaced the Duc de Cadore. Count Daru brought to his new post that indefatigable ardour for work, which had attracted the Emperor's attention, those capacities, that rigidity of morals, and that uprightness which have always characterized the administrative career of this Minister. Napoleon had in M. Daru a confidence which was absolute because it was founded on esteem. During the Emperor's stay in Moscow, M. Daru gave him an account of a private letter which he had just received from General Moreau's wife. This lady asked M. Daru to support a request which she was making to be allowed to land in France, where her presence was rendered necessary by certain family affairs. Napoleon, suspecting the real motive of Madame Moreau's request, a motive which was clearly exposed by subsequent events, refused this permission, but bore M. Daru no grudge for his action in this matter. When Moreau's presence at the headquarters of the allied troops, in 1813, was made known, the Emperor contented himself with reminding M. Daru of the communication which he had made to him at the Kremlin. If on the one hand Napoleon had a great respect for Count Daru,

it cannot, on the other hand be said that he had any sympathy for him personally. He appreciated his work, and always found him useful, but he never showed him any expansive confidence. M. Daru's attitude towards the Emperor, on his side, was marked by a singular reserve. I am unable to say whether there was any reason for this Minister's embarrassment in the presence of his sovereign, and whether the remembrance of his former relations with General Moreau, or some other reason, influenced his feelings towards Napoleon. Whatever may be the conjectures formed on this matter, the truth is that M. Daru served the Emperor with zeal and fidelity, but that the latter did not like him. M. Daru was convinced—I am sure that I do not know for what reason—that Napoleon did not trust him. In the last year of his life this minister did me the honour of telling me that each time that he went to see the Emperor he took the key of his writing-table with him in his pocket—ready, at the slightest expression of discontent on Napoleon's part, to hand him over this key, begging him to send for his family papers. "He would have seen," added M. Daru, "by comparing the inventory of my possessions when I entered his service, with the existing state of my affairs, that I had not increased my fortune in any illegitimate way."

Before speaking of the journey which the Emperor took, in 1811, with Marie Louise, I wish to say a word about a despatch which was sent to him towards the end of May by Marshal Davout, who was commanding the troops stationed in the Hanseatic provinces. At the time of the first occupation of these provinces

serious malversations of public money had been committed. The general * who was at that time in command in this district and in Hanover, who since had reached a lofty destiny, was said to have tolerated this disorder. The magistrates of the States occupied by our armies had lent themselves to the sacrifices which were suggested to them as likely to be profitable to the interests of their towns. Prince d'Eckmuehl, who came to Hamburg long after, who was as inaccessible to corruption as he was a strict disciplinarian, insisted on a speedy payment of the taxes. The towns replied that it was only fair that the sums which they had already paid, and which amounted to about four millions, should be taken into account. As these sums had not been paid either into the army treasury or into the treasury of the extraordinary domain, the Marshal replied by demanding the local authorities to produce the proofs of payment of the war indemnities. After long hesitation the senate of Hamburg finally consented to hand in a list of people who had received either money or presents, together with a full account of the sums paid in cash or kind to each person named.

The names of persons of all classes, of officers of every rank, from the Marshal down to the commissary of wars, were to be found on this list; but in still greater number were the names of civil functionaries of every rank, from the ambassador down to his diplomatic agents and simple employés. Some had received sums of money, others presents for their wives or for themselves. The Emperor repeatedly insisting on seeing this list, received it at last from the Prince d'Eckmuehl. Napoleon placed it in the hands of the

* Bernadotte.

Minister of the Public Treasury, with orders to sue for the recovery of these sums which had thus been extorted or illegally received. The soldiers, for whom there was more excuse under the circumstances, were less roughly treated than the civilians who could justify themselves by no motive. The latter were accordingly more severely treated, but it was thought advisable to treat certain persons in high positions with tolerance. Some of the fraudulent bailees paid back what they had received. The fall of the Empire saved the most guilty. The resentment retained by the persons compromised in this affair can be imagined. There lies the reason of many desertions and outbreaks of hostility, which manifested themselves against the Emperor when he was no longer to be feared. The Duc de Cadore received orders to inform one of the diplomatic agents whose name was mentioned on the list supplied by the Hamburg senate, who had been plenipotentiary minister to the Hanseatic cities, that he had to count with him as a clerk with his master, and to pay over to the treasury of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, seventy-five per cent of the sums which he had received, this money to be applied to finishing a mansion which had been commenced on the Quai d'Orsay, and which was intended for the Ministry offices and residence. The reason of the order signified to Bourrienne by the Duc de Cadore is more in accordance with truth than the somewhat cynical answer of which the latter boasts in his Memoirs.

Since I have related an occurrence which shows that Napoleon, in spite of his vigilance, was unable to prevent all disorder, I will quote another of the same kind which took place later on, and which was not

known, at least officially, by the Emperor, for what reason will be seen. During the 1807 campaign a war indemnity of three hundred thousand francs was imposed on the province of Erfurth. Deputies from this province came to headquarters to ask for a reduction. Count Daru, to whom they addressed themselves, received them very badly, but they repeated their application so often that the Minister told them that they did wrong to complain, seeing that the sum of three hundred thousand francs which had been demanded of them was not more than the resources of their province could afford. "If we only owe three hundred thousand francs," they answered, "we have paid." "Have you receipts in order?" In answer to this question they produced a receipt from the assigner of payments. Count Daru wrote to the latter who admitted to him that the Marshal in command of the army corps which was stationed at that time in the province, and who since was raised to a rank which put him above the reach of all jurisdiction, had allotted two hundred thousand francs out of the money received to himself, and had allowed him to keep one hundred thousand francs. Count Daru informed this functionary that unless the entire sum was paid into the army treasury within an assigned period, the Emperor would be informed of the matter. In consequence of this the assigner of payments made haste to pay over the three hundred thousand francs. He, however, declared that he had paid the whole sum out of his pocket, as the Marshal had refused to restore the two hundred thousand francs which he had appropriated. M. Daru never informed the Emperor of this affair, and it was only twenty

years later that he revealed it in private conversation.

On September 19th, 1811, Napoleon left Compiègne for his proposed journey in Holland. His object was to visit this peculiar country, the originality of which attracted his attention. He proposed to see the works which had either been finished or were in course of execution, necessary for binding his third capital to the metropolitan seat of the Empire, and intended to render communications between Amsterdam and Paris most rapid. The Emperor accordingly preceded the Empress, giving her rendezvous in Antwerp, as he wished to spare her the fatigues of a military journey, in which, moreover, she would have been forced to dispense with the pomp attaching to her rank. Marie Louise, after leaving Compiègne, proceeded to the castle of Laeken. Napoleon was not displeased at the idea of her appearing in provinces which formerly had been governed by the House of Austria. The Empress made several excursions to Brussels, where she was received as she had a right to expect. She showed herself at the theatre, and visited certain manufactories, where she ordered lace for a considerable amount. The Emperor wished to surround her journey to Holland with considerable splendour, and expressed his wish that the Empress should show herself everywhere surrounded by a brilliant court. As for himself, accompanied by only a small suite, he proceeded to Boulogne, where he spent three days, visiting the little coast harbours, inspecting the flotilla, and engaging it with some English cruisers over whom he secured a victory. From Boulogne Napoleon went towards Ostend and Breskens, a port situated opposite Flushing, where he had ordered certain works to be carried

out. The weather was detestable, which did not prevent the Emperor from riding part of the way on horseback. He explored the island of Cadzand, and examined its forts in detail. His plan was to visit one by one the thirty vessels of the fleet at Antwerp, a review which would have benefited the fleet in particular and the navy in general. With this purpose in view Napoleon embarked on the *Charlemagne*, the admiral's vessel, on which Commander Missiessy had hoisted his standard. He was accompanied by his Minister of Marine. The weather was fairly fine, but it changed during the night, and from daybreak a violent storm raged, which lasted three days without diminishing in intensity. The equinoctial winds were so strong that no boat could be put to sea. The Emperor was accordingly forced to remain on board the *Charlemagne* in idleness, without being able to communicate with the land. He took advantage of this enforced stay to examine a report of the state of the fleet, in distributing rewards amongst the sailors, and, armed with his field-glasses, in contemplating the spectacle of the furious waters, whenever he was able to keep his legs on the bridge or on the deck. Napoleon's papers, and almost all his clothes were on board some boats and a yacht, which were dispersed by the wind into various ports along the coast. The pages and people of his household, who were in charge of these boats, were driven about at the mercy of the winds for four or five days, without being able to reach either the Emperor's ship, or to get back to land, menaced with destruction at every moment. Many thought of writing their wills without knowing whether these documents would survive them.

The tempest having calmed at last, and the sea having somewhat quieted, the Emperor took advantage of this circumstance to make his way to Flushing. He spent a day there which he employed in inspecting the immense works which were being carried out by his order, given after the withdrawal of the English expedition. The object of these works was to enable the armed fleet of the Escaut to enter into port, so as to be protected against hostile attack. Napoleon next embarked for Antwerp, sailing up the river and inspecting in turn the various forts which lie on either bank. He arrived at Antwerp in the night, and was joined there by the Empress next day. During a stay of four days in this city, where fêtes of every kind succeeded each other, the Emperor did not remain inactive for a single minute. His attention was entirely taken up with the city, and the military, maritime, and commercial establishments which his genius for organization had created in so short a space of time. In four years he had transformed Antwerp into a new city, a fortified town of the first order, and the most important port in his Empire. Quays, piers, canals, harbour-basins, docks with thirty vessels in process of construction, unbroken roads from Flushing to Antwerp, protected by lines of forts, where one hundred vessels could find shelter in case of danger, all these things had come from hands which seemed to be gifted with the power of a magician's wand.

Napoleon left Antwerp on October 4th at three o'clock in the morning, stopped at Wilhelmstadt and at Helvoetsluis, slept in his yacht, which was at anchor near the island of Goréc, and arrived on the

following day at Gorcum, where he found Marie Louise. The Archtreasurer, governor-general of Holland, and Marshal Oudinot, commanding the troops, who had both come to meet him, were there also. The Emperor continued his journey accompanied by the Empress along a road fringed with country houses, each more elegant and better kept than the last. He stopped at Utrecht. Their Majesties were received there by the authorities, and by an immense crowd of people, whom neither the bad weather nor the darkness could prevent from thronging the quays and streets. Before entering the house prepared for his reception, Napoleon got on horseback, and went to review the troops, in spite of the pouring rain. This circumstance reminds me that, during a review which was being held on a rainy day, Napoleon saw some generals who drew aside to wrap themselves up carefully in their mantles. Without appearing to notice the excessive care which they were taking of their persons, Napoleon at once made his way to a waterspout and took his stand close to it, thus giving his generals a lesson in discipline and self-denial.

On returning to his house the Emperor, in pursuance of his system of practical education, insisted—without taking the time to change his clothes—on receiving the authorities of the town who had come to await him there. Amongst the corporations admitted to the audience were noticed some Jansenist clericals whose rupture with the Court of Rome had recently been accomplished.

The solemn entry of the imperial couple into Amsterdam was effected on October 9th. The Empress was in a state-carriage, gilded and fitted with eight windows.

A guard of honour composed of young men belonging to the best families in the town, had come to meet Their Majesties. The Emperor made his entry into the town on horseback surrounded by a brilliant staff. On that day the Dutch seemed to have forgotten their natural stolidity altogether.

Their Majesties spent a fortnight in Amsterdam. The Emperor broke his stay in this city by excursions to the Helder, which was one of his creations, to Texel, and to the famous dykes at Medemblik. Some very lofty dykes had been raised on this point which protected the country against the waters of the Zuyder Zee. The land lies lower than the sea, the waves of which sometimes reach as high as the top of the dyke. The dykes are then covered over with sails to break the force of the waves and to prevent them from overthrowing the ramparts which the industry of the inhabitants had raised. During one of the Emperor's absences, which lasted three days, the Empress made several excursions in the surroundings of Amsterdam. She stopped, notably, at the village of Broeck, which is famed as being the best model of the mincing luxuriousness and excessive cleanliness of the Dutch. No carriages pass through the streets, which are paved with tiles imitating flowers; but an exception was made to this rule in favour of the Empress's carriage. The house which she had come to visit was the mayor's. She saw the state rooms there, which are only opened on days of marriages, christenings, and funerals. Except on these three solemn occasions, the apartment is kept carefully closed up, and even the three steps which lead up to the door are removed. The frontages of some houses are covered with white

sand on which patterns are marked out in coloured sand. The inside of these houses is as clean and polished as the outside. Curtains of beautiful Chinese silk garnished the windows, large cupboards were filled with rich Japanese porcelain. No traces of any inhabitants were to be seen, nor could one notice any marks of usage on the furniture. These houses appeared to have been placed there like an opera stage scene for the mere pleasure of the eyes. There are in this village, or rather in this symmetrical assemblage of pleasure-houses, of which Nuremberg toys are the miniature, neither barns, nor lofts, nor stables, nor cow-houses, nor kitchens. Whatever of animal or even intellectual life there may be is placed outside the limits of the village. The people sleep and eat no doubt hidden from all eyes, for one cannot admit that these houses are only used as the dwelling-places of spirits.

The Mayor or Burgomaster thought he was giving the Empress no mean mark of his respect in breaking for her the rules which he obeyed himself. The entry into one of these houses had even been, on one occasion, refused to Hortense, Queen of Holland, and the King had approved of this because she had not announced her visit in advance. The owners were all millionaires, and had always been carefully treated because they were the pillars of Dutch commerce. Even during the revolution no troops were billeted upon them, nor were they forced to do any personal service. These Republicans, in consequence, are very proud, and make no exceptions of persons nor of ranks.

Another township of celebrated name is Saardam, where the Czar, Peter the Great, passed several months to study the art of ship-building. This township, although

this name is no more applicable to Saardam than to Broeck, consists of a succession of houses where modern luxury is combined with the most rare antiquities, and that refined cleanliness which is the mania of the Dutch. These houses cover a space of nearly three quarters of a league. Saardam, like Broeck, is inhabited by merchants who have grown rich in the Indian and China trade; but what especially attracts the attention of the curious there is a poor hut of two rooms, made of planks, lacking the comforts of life, without either court-yard or loft, and altogether much resembling a barn. The camp bedstead, on which Peter the Great slept, is kept there. The bare walls are covered with inscriptions in honour of this monarch, who was great even in his eccentricities. There are in a cupboard, in which he put his clothes and provisions, two large volumes, pages of which are covered with the names of strangers who have come to visit this abode, and who remained struck with the contrast between the power of the great prince who inhabited it and the humble condition which he assumed. Napoleon, in honour of Peter the Great, raised Saardam to the rank of a town.

The journey in Holland was very brilliant. The Emperor was followed by his orders by a large court, and by many of his ministers. Talma, Damas, Mademoiselle Bourgoin, and part of the Théâtre Français had been sent for to give performances. The dramatic poet Chazet, during this journey, gave a performance of a piece "*The Saardam Workshop*" which he had written.

The Dutch were much pleased with the Empress Marie Louise. Her simple and affable manners appealed to the Dutch good nature. I do not know whether the

love of novelty, or rather the prestige of Napoleon's great name influenced the Dutch. The reception which they everywhere awarded to the Emperor and Empress was such as to make one think that the annexation of their country to France was approved of by them all.

The Emperor allowed no day to pass without going out with no other escort than the guard of honour of the town, either to make excursions to the military and naval stations in the surroundings of Amsterdam, or to visit the manufactories, docks, harbour, arsenal, vessels, flotilla, or to hold reviews. He received all the authorities in audience, conversed with each man on his special subject, asking questions about the various localities, the rules of government, the state of mind of the inhabitants, the material and moral condition of the country, its customs, and so on. From these conversations, from his own observation, Napoleon with that prompt and subtle penetration which has never been equalled, acquired exact notions of everything which attracted his attention. He settled the question of public instruction in Holland by a decree. Imperial Universities were established in the cities of Leyden and Groningen; public schools were established in both these cities and in Utrecht; secondary schools were granted to every town in Holland. It was at Amsterdam that the Emperor created the order of La Réunion. This order, like that of the Legion of Honour, was intended to recompense civil and military services, and remained more especially affected to the cities annexed by the Empire. Napoleon argued with the Governor-General and with the indefatigable M. Daru, Minister Secretary of State, in what way he could remedy the evil results of the suspension of maritime

trade which were being felt by the Dutch. He manifested the greatest benevolence towards them, was present at all the fêtes given in his honour, speaking to each man on the subjects which most concerned him, remembering everybody with the amenity and good grace which he knew how to display, and in which it must be said that he was marvellously seconded by the Empress.

The Emperor left Amsterdam very well pleased with the reception which had been awarded to him in this great city, the hopes of which had been revived by his solicitude, his kind nature, and his assurances so full of future promise. He had come to Holland with but little sympathy for its inhabitants, perhaps because he had been told that they were hostile towards him. His feelings about them were changed as soon as he had come into contact with them. He even got a decided liking for their character, to the extent of almost excusing his brother, Louis, for the partiality which the latter had shown them. Generally speaking the morality and the orderly spirit of the Dutch pleased Napoleon, who sincerely desired their prosperity, and who took an interest in the memories of their glorious past. He stayed some hours at Haarlem, which is a half Gothic, half Chinese city formerly celebrated for the romantic passion of its inhabitants for tulips and flowers. In passing he visited Cattvick lock and went to sleep at the Hague. Napoleon did not linger in this ancient residence of the Stadtholders, where there was nothing in particular to attract his attention. Rotterdam interested him more. He spent two days there receiving the authorities and the people and in long and frequent conversations with the local function-

aries on the best means of alleviating the distress in trade; in visiting the arsenals and the harbour, which is the finest and most convenient in Holland; and applied to the interests of this important city the resources and benefits of his fruitful activity. Napoleon left Rotterdam rather earlier than he had intended to do in making out the plans of his journey, being anxious to hasten his return to Paris. The rain, which announced the early approach of the bad weather, rendered the journey, in a country which is cut up by canals and marshes, a laborious one. The weather, indeed, became horrible, and gave this country the saddest of aspects. Napoleon also feared the influence of the damp air on the Empress's health. He accordingly left Rotterdam on October 27th, for the Palace of Loo, passing through Utrecht. Marie Louise remained at Loo during the Emperor's excursion to Zwoll, an important fortified place, which is rendered very strong by its advantageous position on the Aa and the Issel, the waters of which fill a double moat. Placed on a height, which commands the surrounding country, this city takes pride in having given birth to the author to whom is attributed the book the "*Imitation of Christ*"—namely, Thomas à Kempis, whose memory is as much venerated as the name of Erasmus is respected in Rotterdam where a bronze statue has been raised to this *savant* in the market place.

The Emperor returned to the Palace of Loo and left it on the following day with the Empress for Nimeguen. He was anxious to visit the Grand-Duchy of Berg, which he had bestowed on the eldest son of his brother King Louis, but before proceeding to Düsseldorf, the capital of the Grand-Duchy, he went to Wesel, where

he stayed one day. The Empress left Nimeguen at the same time as the Emperor, and went to pass the night at the castle of Ottenberg, near Xanten, and arrived at Düsseldorf on November 1st. Napoleon had joined her there on the following day. After a stay of two days, which were taken up with the cares of government, and the receptions and fêtes which the cities offered to Their Majesties, they returned to France via Cologne, and made their way by Liege, Givet, Mézières, and Compiègne. On November 11th Napoleon and Marie Louise were back again at St. Cloud, after an absence of three months, the longest absence which the Emperor had made in the provinces of old or new France. Wherever he halted during his journey, Napoleon applied his vigilant attention to the most minute details of government, public works, public debts, trade, manufactures, finances, and to the country's means of defence; repelling abuses, dealing out impartial justice to all, rewarding services and talents, occupying himself in procuring for the inhabitants all the prosperity which the difficulty of the circumstances in which they were placed allowed of, and straining all the tendons of his genius to assure and increase their prosperity in the future.

In considering the annexations by force to the Empire on which has been based the accusation of unbridled ambition made against Napoleon—an accusation which the coalition took so much pains to accredit—a reflection, rendered all the more striking by the journey in Holland, presents itself, however, to the mind. It is suggested by the way in which Napoleon acted towards these people.

The necessity of drawing in the circle in which he

is bound to enclose England leads him to incorporate into the Empire, for the most part only temporarily, countries which serve as places of refuge or of protection to commerce, and which are either unable or unwilling to protect themselves. At the same time he does not use these countries exclusively for the greatness and domination of France. On the contrary, his best endeavours are applied, with indefatigable zeal, towards finding the best ways of relieving them, and each step he takes is marked by some measure of benefit to their interests. In combining their resources with those of the Empire for the kind of war which he is waging upon England, the only means of securing lasting peace, he allows them to participate in the advantages of the French protectorate. He attends to the repression of abuses and to the care of their interests with as much solicitude as for France. He summons to his councils, to the national representation, to various posts in the law-courts and in the government, the most distinguished men, to guide him with their lights and to be to him the advocates and the patrons of their country. And finally Napoleon only makes his appearance in the districts annexed to France to bestow upon them the advantages of his codes, of a skilful government, and a more developed industry, as though to plant in the breast of the people the seeds of a prosperity which the future will take care to develop.

I have not yet spoken of the various people who used to write to Napoleon during the Consulate and the Empire. M. Fiévée was one of Napoleon's oldest and most important correspondents. He had been introduced to Napoleon, at that time First Consul, by

M. Roederer. This writer was already known by certain literary successes and by his political acts and writings. Napoleon had charged him with a mission to England in 1802. I will not speak of the reports which M. Fiévée addressed to Napoleon, as M. Fiévée has taken the public into his confidence in this matter himself. His correspondence with Napoleon, both as First Consul and as Emperor, was printed in 1837.* If the spirit or the letter of these notes, published thirty years after they were written, and at a time so different, has been modified in some way, these modifications have been so slight that they can neither be recognized nor pointed out. I am inclined to believe that as a whole the reproduction may be considered a faithful one.

M. Desrenaudes, former grand vicar to the bishop of Autun, when M. de Talleyrand held that see, a friend of this minister and long employed in his cabinet, was amongst the persons who were allowed to write to Napoleon on questions of internal government; excursions into the domain of politics being forbidden. M. Desrenaudes was successively member of the Tribunate, archivist to the Council of State, councillor of the University, and censor.

A man who had made an abominable use of his talents, and who never wearied of offering his services to the imperial Government, attracted Napoleon's attention: this was Barrère. This man, born, it is said, with a gentle disposition, and even with private virtues, but whom fear had transformed into a man of blood, had been

* "*Correspondance politique et administrative*" is the name of this work. It was published in 15 vols. Fiévée's complete works were published by J. Janin in 1842.—R. H. S.

authorized to return to France by favour of a law of the year VIII which allowed the recall of the exiles. Barrère had tried to render himself agreeable to the new power, and to succeed had considered no means, even the act of informer, repugnant. This person, although justly held in bad repute, had been presented by his department, at the time of the establishment of the Empire, as a candidate to the Legislative body, but the Senate had unanimously rejected this candidature. In such a case Napoleon could not act on the maxim which he had adopted of calling to his service everybody likely to be of use to him, and give employment to a man whose notoriety was such as to exclude him from public functions. The Emperor, being unable to reply favourably to the importunities of this discredited former member of the Convention, contented himself with authorizing him to send periodical reports to the Tuileries on the state of public opinion, on administrative matters, and on his old companions in exile. Napoleon found nothing in these reports but the hollow phraseology of the members of the Committee of Public Safety at the Convention. Barrère's despatches, which began in 1803, lasted three years after Napoleon's accession to the throne. But the Emperor, tired of finding neither useful expressions of opinion, nor revelations of any value in these reports, which were only filled with words of flattery and vulgar denunciations, put a stop to this insipid correspondence. Then, opining that Barrère's talents as a writer, might be profitably employed in the editorship of some newspaper, he had the idea of placing him at the head of a paper which took the significant name of *The Anti-British Memorial*, and in favour of which I was ordered to

pay Barrère five hundred francs a month. This publication was not successful. Napoleon was dissatisfied with his articles, finding in them nothing but empty tirades, arguments without any solidity, and often, as he used to say, stupidities covered over with sonorous phrases. He ceased to take an interest in a man for whom, moreover, he could not have any kind of esteem. I believe that Barrère afterwards wrote on the staff of *The Argus*, a paper written in the same spirit as *The Anti-British Memorial*, and which derived its inspiration from the offices of the ministry of Foreign Affairs. M. André d'Arbelles, the historiographer of this ministry and M. Lesur, author of the *Annual of Universal History*, a collection of very serious interest to history, presided over the editorial department of this newspaper.

Napoleon's short intercourse with Barrère put me into correspondence with the latter. I had no opportunity of making his personal acquaintance, and only communicated with him by letter. He thought fit to offer me his academical eulogy of Louis XII., a panegyric in which he preached "the advantages of a monarchical government and the fidelity of the people to its kings, the distinctive characteristic of the French people," sentiments which the author, for his part, had so cruelly repudiated.

Nobody will be surprised when I add that Barrère found in 1814, 1815, and 1830, successive occasions for apostasy.

Goldsmith, an English Jew, translator of the articles of *The Argus*, which had been written by MM. Lesur, André d'Arbelles, and others, had also his share in Napoleon's liberalities. He also worked on

The Anti-British Memorial, but there was no solidarity between him and Barrère. This libeller, who had fled from England to the Continent, had come to offer his pen to the French Government. After having lost all credit with this government, and after the Treaty of Amiens had rendered the existence of papers hostile to England no longer necessary, Goldsmith lost his means of existence. He then tried to return home, and was allowed to return to London. Pretending to know the secrets of the French government, this fellow was bought over by Pitt. The price of Goldsmith's return to favour was the publication of the "Secret History of the Cabinet of St. Cloud," a tissue of lies and calumnies, which, however, the government of the Restoration ordered to be translated and published with additions. Goldsmith also became editor of two newspapers in England, *The Anti-Gallican* and *The Anti-Corsican Chronicles*, which were the counterpart of *The Anti-British Memorial*. This latter newspaper attacked the policy of the British government, whilst Goldsmith's papers openly preached the murder of Napoleon Bonaparte. In this respect they were unfortunately the organ of certain princes of the House of Bourbon and of the principal members of the French exile party. The publication of the "History of the Cabinet of St. Cloud," of *The Anti-Gallican* and *The Anti-Corsican Chronicles*, opposed to his collaboration on *The Argus* and *The Anti-British Memorial* have given a sad and but little enviable celebrity to the memory of Goldsmith, that double-faced pamphleteer.*

* It was this loathsome Jew, Goldsmith, who accused the English of flooding France with forged assignats. In one of his vile pamphlets he states that he saw a cargo of forged assignats, which it had been im-

M. M. J. Rocques de Montgaillard, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, also lent the assistance of his pen to the founder of the imperial regime, but that in no very disinterested manner.

Madame de Genlis used also to address periodical reports to the Emperor. This lady, on her return from exile, had found herself like many other honourable exiles, in a state of destitution. The Minister of the Interior, M. Chaptal, gave her an apartment in the buildings of the Arsenal library. Madame de Genlis lived there on the income produced by her numerous books,* and some assistance which she received from the funds reserved for literary people. When Napoleon became Emperor he ordered Lavalette to pay her five hundred francs a month, and, in order to spare her feelings, had her told that he wished her to write to him every fortnight on matters of literature and morality. The help which Madame de Genlis received from Napoleon's generosity, the help which was afterwards extended to her by Queen Julia of Naples, and the resources procured from the sale of her works, did not prevent her from being invariably in embarrassed circumstances. She used to apply to me when she wanted

possible to convey into France, in Falmouth harbour, and that they were being used by the English soldiers for the manufacture of cartridges. See also his "*Crimes des Cabinets, ou Tableau des plans et des actes d'hostilité formés par les diverses puissances de l'Europe pour anéantir la liberté en France et démembrer son territoire.*"—R. H. S.

* Madame de Genlis was the authoress of eighty books, the least unimportant of which are, "*Théâtre d'éducation à l'usage des jeunes personnes*", "*Annales de la vertu*", "*Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'Education*", "*Les Petits Emigrés*", "*Les Veillées du Château*", "*Mlle. de Clermont*", "*Mme. de Maintenon*", the two last being historical novels. Madame de Genlis was born in 1746 and died in 1830. She was generally supposed to be the mother of the famous "Pamela" who was wedded by Lord Fitzgerald.—R. H. S.

some advance on the income allowed her by the Emperor, and at such times would beg M. Sabatier de Castres, whom I used to meet at the house of a mutual friend, to mention the matter to me. This woman of letters, who was prodigiously vain, has published "Memoirs," in which very good measure, in point of quantity,* has been dealt out to the subscribers to this work, in which she relates the adventures of her long career. In this book she shows herself faithful to her antipathies as to her sympathies, but the goodwill and the preciseness of her recollections are unfortunately too often in direct proportion to the good or bad fortune of the persons she writes about. A circumstance relating to the imperial family—amongst other examples which I might quote—prompts me to make this remark, and to point out to what an extent, at times, the authoress's memory used to fail her. M. Sabatier, whose name I have just mentioned, had introduced Madame de Genlis to the virtuous Julia Bonaparte, at that time Queen of Naples, and had advised his friend at the same time to ask to be allowed to take charge of the education of the Queen's daughters. Madame de Genlis, who thought herself born with the vocation for teaching and guiding her neighbour by inculcating her opinions and principles, had jumped at this idea. She wrote in consequence to the Emperor to obtain his consent in the matter. This application was contained in her fortnightly paper, and was accompanied by protestations of gratitude and the expression of her wish to show her gratitude for the kindness of the august head of the family, by assiduous attention in carrying out the duties which such a post would impose. But this letter was not

* Ten octavo volumes.—R. H. S.

answered, and Napoleon, on the contrary, told his sister-in-law that such a choice would displease him. The Queen on her side had far too much tact to wish to put her neck into such a yoke. She also knew that King Joseph would be very reluctant to give his consent. This consideration would have sufficed to hold the Queen back, even if she could have made up her mind to entrust the education of her daughters to a woman of admitted talents, no doubt, but who was totally unfitted for such a post by associations and prejudices which were incompatible with the new imperial government. To console Madame de Genlis for the Emperor's refusal, Queen Julia, with that feeling of goodness and generosity which characterized her, accorded her a pension of three thousand francs from her private purse. No allusion, as far as I know, to this act of kindness, is contained in the memoirs of the woman who benefited by it.

Let us return to the Emperor's other correspondents, who have been forgotten during this digression.

Doctor Corvisart had proposed M. Lemaire, Professor of Latin Poetry at the Paris Academy, to Napoleon, as correspondent, and he had been accepted. This professor* had drawn attention to himself during his lectures, by an ingenious application of certain passages in Virgil's poems to the eulogy of the Head of the Government. Napoleon, having noticed in some of the notes sent in by M. Lemaire personalities mixed up with general observations on literature and literary people, ordered him to cease writing to him.

* N. E. Lemaire (1767—1832) was the editor of the collection of Latin classics, "*Bibliotheca classica latina*" in 154 octavo volumes. He was the author of much Latin verse.—R. H. S.

The Emperor, as a general rule, forbade his correspondents to speak of persons, wishing them to speak of matters alone.

M. de Montlosier, formerly deputy at the national assembly, where he sat on the right, who did not take pains to soften down the rigidity of his monarchical principles by conciliatory expressions, was also allowed to expound to the Emperor in a series of notes his political, administrative, and even religious plans. He afterwards received an order to write a book on the French Monarchy. I saw the manuscript of this book a long time in Napoleon's study. The multiplicity of the Emperor's occupations had prevented him from reading it, but at last he charged a commission to read it. The opinion of this commission, although it was favourable to the work on the whole, thought that its publication would be untimely. The author has published it since the Restoration with explanatory notes.*

These correspondents were more or less remunerated. On the average the pay given for this kind of work was £20 a month.

M. de Dampmartin, a retired Major-General, and a member of the Legislature, author of several historical and literary works, became one of the non-remunerated correspondents of the Emperor by my intermediary, during the years 1813 and 1814.

Another correspondent who was totally disinterested, continued writing to Napoleon from 1800 to 1814. His letters, written with independence and measure, were not particularly brilliant, and dealt with the various acts of his government. I will not betray—as he has

* Montlosier's "*Monarchie française depuis son établissement*" was published in 1814. It is a worthless book.—R. H. S.

not done so himself—the incognito of the author of these letters, who was referendary to the Audit Office, and who hid himself under the pseudonym of "Héléodore." This anonymous writer published his correspondence in 1833 under the title of "*Letters of Héléodore addressed to Napoleon Bonaparte, from March 1st, 1800, to March 17th, 1814.*"

In speaking of the persons who addressed letters or reports to the Emperor I have made use of the word "correspondent", because I could not find a better expression, but as a matter of fact Napoleon never answered these communications.

I had been created Baron of the Empire in 1809, and provided with an endowment in the ancient province of Brabant. In 1811, I was appointed *Maître des Requêtes* of the Council of State, and had received an increase of endowment. I had been successively nominated "Knight," and then "Officer" of the "Legion of Honour," and finally "Knight of the Iron Crown," at the time when this Order was created. The sovereigns who followed each other on the throne of Naples were kind enough to wish to decorate me with their Orders; but although one was a brother and the other the brother-in-law of the Emperor, I respectfully refused, with the Emperor's approval, all the distinctions which they had been good enough to wish to confer upon me. I did violence to the feeling which made me attach great value to the proof of esteem which these sovereigns, for whom I had as much affection as respect, wished to award to me; but I thought that in my capacity as secretary to the Emperor I must be absolutely independent of everybody but himself; and that though I was not the wife of Cæsar I must be above all suspicion.

The Emperor approving these scruples, thought that I could only wear the two Orders of which he was the head: the decoration of the Legion of Honour, and that of the Crown of Iron, with which he had deigned to honour me.

When the birth of an heir seemed to have seated Napoleon's power on unshakable foundations, at a time when a free and glorious career opened itself out to his creative genius—a genius as wonderful in the works of peace as in the manœuvres of war—whilst under the shelter of a prosperity, the splendour of which shed its rays on the extremest points of the Empire, he was preparing the success of able measures which were to deal a death-blow to England, and to assure the peace of the world, the coalition—that Hydra with its hundred heads—which ever grew again, was not remaining inactive, and was conspiring against her conqueror. She kept stirring up the ever restless ambition of Alexander, she excited the high aristocracy of St. Petersburg against France, and, in one word, was sowing between the two allies the seeds of a misunderstanding which, though they had not yet germinated, were gradually growing in the secrecy of diplomatic negotiations. These intrigues and these underground conspiracies were soon to cause war to break out.

Napoleon, faithful to the system of the alliance which had been contracted at Tilsitt, was pursuing his great design of forcing England to peace. Amongst the means which it was necessary for him to use to attain his object some, it is true, clashed with Russian interests; but what maritime power in Europe did not suffer by them? Napoleon could not abandon the continental system, the effects of which were beginning to be

cruelly felt in England where the distress of manufacturing classes had become extreme. The closing up of the last markets which were opened to English produce, which heaped itself up in the English warehouses, reduced the working classes to misery and to revolt, and this distress reacted on the public fortune of England. Napoleon was studying the best ways of diminishing the damage caused to Russia by the execution of the blockade system; he was seeking to smooth over the difficulties and to reassure the Emperor Alexander. The Emperor's marriage with Marie Louise must have made the Czar imagine that the policy of France had taken another turn. Napoleon's mental reservation, of re-establishing the Kingdom of Poland, was in Alexander's eyes a spectre always full of menace.

Counting for little the great advantages which he had gained at Tilsitt, and not hoping for any more, the Czar had once more become accessible to the seductions of England. Alexander wilfully exaggerated his reasons for discontent, and rejected all Napoleon's proposals for an arrangement, and all offers of compensation. Russia was secretly preparing for war, and her sovereign denied this when he was asked to explain what the arming meant. He nevertheless kept on assembling troops and accumulating stores, adopted measures which were prejudicial to French commerce, and finally let loose his bad temper on the French ambassador at St. Petersburg. The Duc de Vicence, who had long been the object of the Emperor Alexander's kindest attentions, suddenly saw coolness and repugnance succeed to confidence and the charm of the most intimate intercourse.

The Duc de Vicence, accustomed to the goodwill

of a prince who, affecting all the outward signs of friendship, forgot his rank in his presence, could not support the great change which had taken place in his personal position. Persuaded that it was no longer in his power to maintain the friendly relations which till then had existed between the Russian sovereign and himself, he asked to be recalled. Napoleon agreed, giving the Emperor Alexander a proof of his respect in leaving to him the choice of the envoy to replace General Caulaincourt, who would be most agreeable to him, and mentioning the names of MM. de La Rochefoucauld, Narbonne, and Lauriston. Napoleon ordered the Duc de Vicence to declare once more, before leaving St. Petersburg, that his policy had not changed, that he persisted in the alliance, and that he offered any and every indemnity which should be really equivalent to the Duchy of Oldenburg, which he had been absolutely forced to occupy in their common interest, and with the success of his struggle against England in view. The Emperor Alexander answered these new assurances with a protest addressed to every European court against the annexation of the State of Oldenburg to the French Empire.

General Lauriston, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, went to take the Duc de Vicence's place in Russia. During the first audience which the Czar accorded to the new ambassador he checked him at the first word uttered on the subject of the arming which was going on in Russia, and proposed that a French officer should be sent off together with a Russian officer, and simultaneously, with the view of assuring themselves *de visu* of the falseness of the reports which had been addressed to the Emperor Napoleon on this subject.

And yet these armaments were only too genuine!

Amongst the causes which contributed to disturb the good understanding between France and Russia, the Polish question holds the first place. Napoleon, resigned to leave the re-establishment of Poland to the future, had done his best to reassure the Emperor Alexander on this point. At his request he had abstained from making use of the word Poland in his home and foreign communications; he had opposed the re-establishment of the Order of the White Eagle, and had insisted that those who were decorated with this Order should cease wearing it. He had given instructions to the French newspapers that the use of the words "Poles" and "Poland" should be avoided in writing about the Duchy of Warsaw and its inhabitants. And finally, Napoleon had authorized his ambassador in St. Petersburg to negotiate and even to conclude a convention by which France would undertake to refuse all assistance in the restoration of this ancient monarchy. This convention had been negotiated and signed by the Duc de Vicence on January 5th, 1810. It contained the following principal stipulations:

"(1) The Kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established.

"(2) The words 'Poland,' and 'Pole,' shall never figure henceforward in any public deed.

"(3) Any annexation to the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw of any territory having formerly belonged to the ancient monarchy of Poland, is forbidden."

This convention had been immediately ratified by the Emperor Alexander, and was transmitted to Paris to receive the ratification of the Emperor Napoleon. How much the imperative terms of this document and

its unusual form shocked him may be imagined. Napoleon invoked the dignity of France, which was offended by the absolute and exclusive expressions used in this document. He complained of its form, of the violation of accepted customs, and of the anticipated ratification which the Czar had placed upon it.

He declared that he could not accept the convention without examination, because he had neither approved nor even known the terms in which it was drawn up, before it had been ratified by the Czar. The Russian Cabinet, in exacting that no part of the territory which had belonged to ancient Poland should be added to the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, refused to declare in a reciprocal manner that Poland should not be annexed to Russia. This exclusion of all reciprocity tended to make France odious to peoples who were attached to her by so many bonds, and even to arm them against her. At the same time it was only in its form that Napoleon disavowed the convention. He wished therefore to consider the act which his representative had signed as a draft to which the future might give the necessary sanction. "He was not," he said, "Destiny, that he should declare that Poland would never be re-established." Might not that take place without his co-operation, and even in spite of himself? Who could foresee the future? Napoleon accordingly substituted for the primitive project a project which was calculated to realize Russia's object. This modified project contained an engagement on the part of France not to favour any undertaking tending to a re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland, and rendering common to Russia as to the Duchy of Warsaw, the interdiction of any extension of territory by districts taken from the

ancient Polish provinces. The Emperor of Russia refused to listen to any modification. The only one that he proposed was that he would join with the Emperor Napoleon in undertaking to prevent any re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland.

This clinging, on his part, to the terms of a convention which he himself had dictated was not a proof of a friendly disposition, but rather proved a design to transform Napoleon's refusal to ratify the projected convention, into one of those grievances the pretext of which one was certain to arise in a man so jealous of the nation's honour as was the Emperor. It was, then, one grievance the more that the coalition was keeping in reserve to make use of against us when the hour which it was expecting should strike. These hostile mental reservations, about which it would have been difficult to become edified had the idea of them remained hidden in the minds of the princes and the ministers of the coalition, cannot be denied to-day, when accomplished facts have established their prearrangement and when writers, the agents of this coalition, have even boasted of the skilful way in which they were combined.

Without entering into an examination of the plans of our enemies we will content ourselves with mentioning the facts which took place before 1811, the date of which opposes itself to any admission of the statement that they were only just reprisals provoked by the French Government. First of all there is the insignificant co-operation of the Russian contingent in the 1809 campaign, when a Russian force less in numbers than one-fifth of what had been agreed upon, acted with the French army; and then only as an observation corps, rather than as an active auxiliary. This attitude on

the part of Russia showed that the St. Petersburg Cabinet had not frankly broken off with the coalition—of which, that year, Austria was the vanguard. The confessions of Colonel Boutourlin, moreover, remove all doubts on this point.*

In the second place, the refusal of Princess Anna's hand disguised under the pretext of its being necessary to obtain the consent of the Empress Mother, a consent which was not obtained after a delay of two months, was not any the more a proof that the Emperor Alexander was anxious to tighten his alliance with France. And finally the invincible obstinacy with which this prince persisted in the unacceptable terms which he had imperiously imposed in drawing up the convention concerning Poland, and the preliminary ratification which he wrote at the bottom of this convention, would be inexplicable had they not been calculated.

To these signs of a growing deviation from the Tilsitt alliance must be added: the secret orders given by the Russian Government for the execution of works of fortification on the frontier of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, the creation of new regiments, and the extraordinary levy of four men out of every five hundred in all the provinces of the Muscovite Empire, the movements of the troops withdrawn from Siberia, or from the army in Finland, thanks to a secret understanding come to with Bernadotte, the recall of several army divisions from Moldavia and Wallachia, and their assembly on the frontiers of Poland at a time when, apart from the French garrisons left in

* *See* page 37, Vol. I. of Colonel Boutourlin's "*Military History of the Campaign of 1812.*"

the forts of Prussia until the payment of the war-indemnities, France had only the corps of Marshal Davout in cantonment in the Hanseatic provinces, in Germany, the immense storehouses of provisions and munitions which were created at Wilna, Minsk, and other fortified places in Podolia and Wolhynia; and, finally, the negotiations which were entered upon at the beginning of 1811, of which I shall speak later on, between the Russian and Prussian Cabinets.

To these preparations, which in spite of their palpability were always denied by the Emperor Alexander, must be added the ukase, which is said to have been issued on December 31st, 1810, so that this edict may appear to have been issued by way of reprisal on the senatus consultum of the 13th of the same month, which sanctioned the annexation of the Hanseatic cities to the French Empire; but the Russian decree had been long in preparation in the offices of St. Petersburg before being published. In the form of a custom-house regulation, the ukase enforced not only the prohibition, but even the destruction of all French goods. At the same time English goods were allowed to enter all Russian ports, provided the ship was flying a neutral flag, a flag which English commerce never failed to use when it was to its interests to do so. This series of hostilities put forward by Russia was completed by the formation of a corps of 90,000 armed employés, under the command of superior officers of the line, a corps destined to assure the execution of the destructive measures which had been ordered against the produce of French trade. This new corps received the appellation of guardians of the frontier. It would indeed be difficult not to see in

the acts which we have just enumerated, a fixed determination on the part of the Russian Government to renounce the continental system, and once more to make common cause with England.

Napoleon had been informed that since the spring of 1811, overtures had been made to Prussia to induce her to join with Russia in the attack which she was meditating on France. The dangerous situation in which Prussia would have found herself placed, and the just prudence of the King, kept the Prussian Cabinet to its line of duty. The Emperor Alexander, better advised, renounced taking the offensive this time, and postponed carrying into effect the hostile projects which he fostered against us. He wished to leave the apparent wrong of aggressiveness to Napoleon. A new plan of campaign was accordingly concerted, which consisted, as we saw later on, in drawing the French army into the provinces of the Russian Empire, where a desert would be made all round the invaders, who, it was hoped, would perish by starvation, privations of every kind, and the inclemency of an icy climate. Meanwhile the Emperor Alexander, accordingly, remained on the defensive, whilst secretly continuing his preparations for war.

Although these preparations were enshrouded in deep mystery and publicity only revealed them at the supreme moment, they could not escape Napoleon's far-seeing eye. The Emperor on his side was getting ready, and was sending troops quietly on to Dantzig to reinforce the garrison. This brought forth autograph letters from the Czar Alexander, who complained of the threatening attitude which France was assuming towards him. These complaints were followed by

fresh arming on the part of Russia. Napoleon tried to hold Alexander on the precipitous slope down which he saw him rushing. He assured him of his desire to live in peace and implored him not to listen to perfidious inspirations, the effect of which must end in bringing about an inevitable shock between the two empires. But the Russian sovereign turned a deaf ear to these protestations and to this advice; a feeling of distrust increased by foreign promptings had taken deep root in his mind. The importunities of every kind of the English agents, the obstacles which the ambitious policy of Russia encountered in the power of France, the feeling of spiteful rivalry which had resulted therefrom, envenomed a state of misunderstanding, which, as Napoleon thought, could have been put an end to by a private conversation between the two sovereigns, if Alexander could have been brought to it.

Apart from the grievances which divided the two cabinets on the subject of Poland, their respective recriminations bore upon other very serious points. Russia could not pardon our government the annexation of the Hanseatic cities, and especially the annexation of Oldenburg to the French Empire. The Emperor Alexander's susceptibility had, and not unreasonably, been wounded by the dispossession of the Duke of Oldenburg, the husband of Grand-duchess Catherine, the Czar's well-beloved sister. On France's side it was the infraction of the continental system, a system which Russia's attitude struck to the heart, which most irritated the Emperor. Napoleon took pains to demonstrate on his side that the annexation of countries on the northern seaboard of Germany had been

caused by the imperative necessity of closing upon English trade the useful markets which she found there for the sale of her merchandise on the continent. We have seen that he also offered the sovereign of Oldenburg, an indemnity fully equivalent to the loss of his duchy, and that he sought to calm, by means of reasonable proposals, the anxieties which were preserved by Russia as to the possibility of a resurrection of the ancient monarchy of Poland. Napoleon's inclinations and interest led him to avoid war; Russia on the contrary, seeing her adversary's reluctance, was trying to throw him into it. Encouraged by our attitude, the Russian Cabinet made every effort, both secretly and openly, with a bellicose object in view.

The annexation of the Hanseatic cities, of Oldenburg, and of Pomerania to France, which had taken place after repeated warnings, and when a conviction had been come to as to the real or pretended impotence of these countries to forbid the access of their ports to English trade, could not be looked upon as a violation of the Treaty of Tilsitt, since this annexation, on the contrary, tended to ensure the full and entire carrying into effect of the engagements which had been taken. The connivance of the authorities in these various countries with England was moreover very well known. The voluntary non-observation of the continental blockade rendered many points on this seaboard vulnerable, and forced Napoleon, whose clear-sightedness never failed him, to seize upon it. People have never tired of repeating that the districts situated on the mouths of the Elbe, the Ems, and the Weser had been annexed to the French Empire to be indefinitely incorporated therewith. This erroneous assertion was formulated to

give greater weight to the reproaches of provocation which were made against us by Russia, in spite of the fact that the greater part of the hostile measures which this power took against France preceded these alleged provocations. The Emperor wished to keep these different States in his hands as long as the maritime war should last. So penetrating a mind as Napoleon's could not dream of retaining indefinitely, for incorporation in a new empire, these remote regions, which it was his intention to surrender at the time of general peace. He was very well aware that, unless certain restitutions were made, all hope of a European pacification would be a chimerical one. However, in all his messages, the Emperor kept repeating the declaration which he had never ceased to make, that as long as the British Cabinet should persist in its attitude, so long would he also persist in the use of measures which this attitude had forced him to adopt.

The thought of rescuing France and the States of the continent from the humiliating supremacy of England was a generous and a lofty one. The Emperor's ardent and exclusive wish was to force peace upon the English Government. All attempts to bring this about by negotiations had failed, his plan of invading England had failed, one means alone remained efficacious, that, namely, of closing all access to the continent to the commerce of our enemies. The decrees of the British Cabinet, under date of May 16th, 1806, which declared the coasts of France and Holland, from the Elbe to Brest, in a state of blockade, had decided the continental system. Napoleon replied to the blockade of the continent with the blockade of the British Isles. The extraordinary measures decreed to bring this great

enterprise to a successful issue were its natural consequence. The first clause of the treaties of peace with Russia, Sweden, and Prussia, had been the adhesion of these powers to the continental system. This condition was also imposed on the other states on the continent. In this way England was placed under the taboo of the continent. Once engaged in this mighty struggle Napoleon could draw back before no obstacle in the realization of a plan which promised such useful and such splendid results. There was the price of the efforts of the continental states. One or two years more and the object was gained. Those who have looked upon this conception as a mad and impracticable scheme have not considered that Napoleon's enterprise was easier of execution than was the realization of the threats of the English Government, and that the power of the man who had conceived it equalled his genius. Its success would have, as a matter of fact, been infallible. It needed the unheard-of disasters to which France fell a victim to save England, and to bring back to her the states which would have profited by her ruin.

If one passes to considerations of a less general nature it will be found that France was too great and too powerful for England to consent to live in peace with her. Had our country not been sustained by an energetic hand, it would only have been by keeping itself in a state of dependence, and submitting to the laws of its rival, that it would have succeeded in enjoying a delusive calm. As long as England found means to arouse the continent, by exciting the passions of the European cabinets and aristocracy, she employed all her energies for the ruin of France and the

imperial dynasty. It was to her the "To be, or not to be" of Shakespeare's Hamlet. The French Empire had either to put its neck under the yoke of this irreconcilable enemy, and submit to the consequences of its implacable hatred, by giving up the only means of bringing her to equitable conditions, or to persist in the rigorous system of blockade which had been conceived by Napoleon. The latter had not always a choice of means, and the calumnies spread abroad against the character of the greatest man of modern times will pass away, together with the many commonplace accusations of despotism and hatred of liberty with which it has become conventional to charge his memory. Impartial posterity will appreciate what he did for France, and what the circumstances in which he was placed prevented him from accomplishing.

The incompatibility of the new France, both under the Republic and under the Empire, with old Europe could only cease by the triumph of the former. The liberal reaction for which the nations were not ripe at the time, and which was progressing secretly, but not without Napoleon's knowledge, would have been inevitably accomplished if peace had crowned our victories. Does one wish to know what was Napoleon's secret, and the reason of a part of his success? It was that he constantly studied the dispositions and the needs of the people, that he could decide what was the general tendency of men's minds, and knew how to seize upon it. Napoleon was ambitious, but always and above all with a patriotic purpose in view. He only undertook what he was able to accomplish, and the unceasing motive of his ambition was an ardent love for his country, on which all his thoughts and

all his actions were based. If he committed faults, they always had this noble sentiment for cause and for excuse, and to what a height did not these very faults raise the French name!

The Emperor of Russia had appeared at Tilsitt to share Napoleon's feelings towards England. Alexander's first words on the raft on the Niemen: "Like you, I am England's enemy," had flattered Napoleon's heart, and were destined to smooth away all obstacles which might still separate victor and vanquished. Later on, when the two sovereigns met at Erfurth, the Emperor Alexander pretended to persevere in the same feelings. With a view of assuring himself of the co-operation of a powerful ally against the common enemy Napoleon made up his mind to sacrifices which he afterwards had reason to regret. At Tilsitt he had prevented the Turks from re-occupying Moldavia and Wallachia, at Erfurth he consented to the surrender of these provinces to Russia. The Emperor at Tilsitt had lent his hand to the weakening of Sweden, at that time, it is true, England's most persevering ally, by abandoning Finland to Russia, a concession of inestimable value to that power. He complained later on with reason, in one of his letters to the Emperor Alexander, that he had only contributed to the aggrandizement of Russia to see French trade excluded by the Russians from Moldavia up to Finland, and yet the league formed by the Emperor against England had a future object which would have been profitable not only to France but to Russia herself, as well as to all the maritime powers of the North.

The year 1811, and the first months of 1812, were taken up with an exchange of diplomatic notes between

the Russian and French Cabinets, and a correspondence between the two sovereigns, the substance of which, on Napoleon's side, was: "You are preparing for war. It can only be against me; but I am defending our common interests against England, and I have accordingly no wish to attack you. You are obliging me to imitate you; war may be the result, although I do not wish for it, and you perhaps do not desire it yourself. Is there no means of coming to an understanding?" In the meanwhile Russia was secretly preparing to commence the war. Colonel Boutourlin, whom we have already quoted, relates, on page 58 of the first volume of his *Military History of the Campaign of* 1812, "that Russia wished to commence the attack in the spring of 1811, but recognized that she was not ready to do so at that time."

At last, in the month of February, 1812, when the formidable display of troops in Russia, ceasing to menace her natural enemies, had been spread out along the frontiers of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, the Emperor sent for Colonel Czernitcheff, Alexander's aide-de-camp, who, since 1808, had been constantly living close to his person in the capacity of confidential intermediary. Napoleon unburthened himself towards him on the causes of the misunderstanding which existed between France and Russia, and charged him with conciliatory proposals for his master. Czernitcheff went off, but did not return. He carried away with him reports on the state of the French army which he had succeeded in getting from an employé at the War Office, a man called Michel, who paid with his head for the treachery which he had committed in favour of the Czar's aide-de-camp.

The Emperor applied himself with all his might to minimize the rigorous effect of the prohibitive measures which he had been forced to adopt. He proposed equivalents, the system of licences, by means of which England was prevented from drawing money from the continent in exchange for the produce of her trade. The licences allowed merchant vessels to import a certain quantity of colonial produce on condition of exporting the equivalent value in French merchandise. Every ship bearing a licence, freighted with a cargo of native productions, was allowed to go and exchange its cargo in England for colonial produce and raw materials alone, but not for manufactured goods. In this way England received no money, and goods of English manufacture could not penetrate on to the continent. The speculators who obtained these licences very often paid no attention to the condition of exporting French goods, the entrance of which into England was subjected to very heavy duties. They used to load their ships with goods which had the least sale in France and would often throw these cargoes overboard when out at sea, instead of seeking to introduce them into England. Colonial produce and raw materials consequently cost a much higher price, but this sacrifice was largely compensated for by the profits which these speculators derived from such valuable produce as sugar, coffee, and spices, which nobody on the continent was willing to entirely forgo. This was an attenuation of the continental system, and although it was no doubt imperfect, it was difficult to go further, seeing what were the exceptional circumstances in which one was placed at the time. Russia could make use of the same means for procuring

colonial produce necessary for her consumption or raw material useful for her industries, in exchange for her tars, leathers, and timber. However, the more conciliating and the more desirous of avoiding a rupture did Napoleon show himself, the more did Alexander imagine that the French Government was not ready to fight him, and was afraid of him. The Czar, moreover, was free no longer, and had been entirely circumvented by England. There was no kind of intrigue, no perfidious proceeding which our eternal enemy neglected to use, at St. Petersburg and elsewhere, to excite people against the Emperor Napoleon—substitutions of documents, forgery of writings and of signatures, all was good. Towards the end of 1811, a cabal, of which the principal agent was a certain Baron d'Armfeldt—who had been long in the pay of England—trumped up the proofs of an act of subornation of which Napoleon was alleged to be the principal instigator, and Speranski, the secretary of the Russian Cabinet, the object and the accomplice. Speranski corresponded with the general secretary of the French Council of State on matters of internal government, a correspondence to which Alexander had appeared to attach importance, and which had been authorized by the French Government. Although these communications had absolutely nothing to do with politics, the informers did not lose the opportunity of seizing on this pretext and of transforming this exchange of letters into a conspiracy. Speranski saw himself in consequence dismissed suddenly, and banished, without even having been heard. These odious and perfidious machinations still further increased Alexander's mistrust of Napoleon, and contributed towards changing the

good relations which had existed so long between them. The Emperor of Russia only discovered the innocence of the privy councillor, Speranski, two years later. He awarded this faithful servant a poor compensation for his undeserved disgrace by appointing him governor of the province in Siberia to which he had been at first banished. Count Nesselrode and Prince Gagarin took Speranski's place as secretaries to the Czar's Cabinet. It was by similar lying artifices that England acted upon the suspicious mind of the Emperor Alexander, and succeeded in binding this prince by means of a treaty which it was agreed to keep secret till the day when an open rupture between France and Russia should break out and hostilities begin.

As a matter of fact Napoleon could only lose by the war which was being prepared. The continental system, so disastrous to England, was by this fact postponed, hindered, and subjected to uncertain hazards. The cries of distress and of weariness which were being heard in London, Liverpool, Bristol, and elsewhere, already announced the early and complete success of the system. On the other hand affairs in Spain imperatively demanded all France's efforts. The Emperor was aware of the situation, if one may judge from various notes which he dictated on different occasions. He "worked out his proposition in different ways," and always found, at the end of his calculations that he could not make war upon Russia without incurring risks which it was to his interest to avoid. He would have wished to be able to postpone this war for three years. The object of the continental system would then have been attained, and Spain would have been pacified. He had all to hope for

from time, and the consolidation which two or three years more would have given to his power. The coalition understood this perfectly, and put enough occupation in his way to prevent him from returning to Spain. It knew how to work the strings of the most refined intrigue. It influenced the Emperor Alexander with all that was likely to have an effect on his mind, offering baits to his ambition which did not find sufficient satisfaction in Napoleon's condescensions. It constantly put before the Czar's eyes the phantom of the re-establishment of Poland and persuaded him that he was France's dupe, in spite of the genuine advantages which he had derived from the French alliance. It represented the occupation of Oldenburg as a proof of the want of consideration of which the French Government rendered itself guilty. It made a skilful use of a suspicious and jealous character and threatened him, needs be, with his father's tragic fate. These manœuvres, skilfully directed, led Alexander on, at first insensibly, and then by a rapid slope to a rupture of the alliance, and to a savage war, fatal to humanity. The pressing need of ending the war in Spain explains Napoleon's reluctance to enter the arena with Russia. He would have preferred to postpone the war, and hoped for some time to be able to avoid it. He spared nothing to obtain this result, apart from the sacrifice of a system the effects of which were about to become decisive. When all hopes of preserving good relations with Russia had been dispelled, the Emperor wished to dispose of all his forces to strike a great blow in the East and to return promptly to Spain. Unheard-of disasters deceived the most clever and most prudent calculations. A happy

issue of the affairs in Spain was about to render Napoleon master of the Peninsula and to make him free of action. The English Government saw this and could not hesitate. It was accordingly urgently necessary for England to involve her powerful adversary in a new struggle with all the embarrassments inherent to his position.

Napoleon accordingly found himself involved, against his will, in a gigantic expedition, which he would have preferred to postpone, because later on it could have been carried out with better chances of success if any longer necessary. He could not overlook the fact that the immutable tendency of the Russians since Peter the Great, had been to exchange their icy climate for warmer skies, and their arid steppes for the rich and fertile provinces of central Europe. To drive back the Russians into ancient Muscovy, and to raise up the throne of Poland to serve as a frontier to the States of Germany, and to act as the Empire's bulwark against their invasions, such was Napoleon's secret object, a result the realization of which was to be the corollary to and the completion of the success of the continental system. It was to assure the success of this colossal enterprise that Napoleon succeeded in uniting under the French flag the whole of Southern Europe. Unfortunately the danger for him lay in so many precarious alliances, and it was in relying on these that his ruin was consummated. He blamed himself for this fault, which he himself called a clumsy one. It was indeed necessary for him to be absolute victor everywhere and always, and the day of a reverse must necessarily transform the allies whom victory alone kept under his flag, into bitterest enemies.

Matters had grown worse in Spain. The conquest of Andalusia by the French armies had forced the Seville junta to flee to Cadiz. The time it seemed had come to push the war vigorously on at this point, and to profit by the dissensions which divided the councils of the Spanish rebels. A provisional regency, composed of five members, replaced the Seville junta and organized means of defence before which the efforts of the French troops failed. No better success awaited King Joseph's conciliatory measures, so that that important war port Cadiz, key to all the provinces of the South of Spain, became the centre of the resistance of the Peninsula.

In Portugal, Marshal Masséna, detained during a month before the lines of Torres-Vedras, was forced by famine, disease, and daily encounters, which decimated his army by reducing it to the saddest extremities, to approach his victualling centres, to beat a retreat, and finally to evacuate Portugal. He was followed by the English general, who recaptured Ciudad-Rodrigo and Badajoz. Partial insurrections increased in number, and guerillas covered the whole Spanish territory. The recall of the imperial guard and of several regiments, the rumours of an imminent rupture between France and Russia had raised the courage of the Spanish rebels. Famine was reigning in Madrid and in the provinces, owing to the difficulty of communication. The Emperor, before leaving to undertake his campaign in Russia, had handed over the command of the French troops in Spain to King Joseph. Napoleon had restored Marshal Jourdan to his brother, with whom the King agreed better than with Marshal Soult. This combination of occurrences shows how greatly the Emperor must have felt the necessity of finishing the war in

Spain. A last but feeble hope remained to him. Since 1809 Austria had been keeping an agent, Baron de Wessemberg, in London, with whom it was possible to communicate by Calais. The proposal which Napoleon transmitted to London through this agent had for its principal object the evacuation of the Spanish territory by the French and English armies, and the independence of this country, under the "present dynasty." The negotiation was a very short one, for Lord Castlereagh answered that if the exclusion of Ferdinand VII. and his heirs was maintained, the engagements undertaken by the British Government did not allow him to accede to the proposal of the French Government. This very plainspoken declaration broke off the negotiation at its commencement. Napoleon unfortunately thought himself sufficiently strong to carry on two such gigantic enterprises at the same time.

Alliances with Austria and Prussia became necessary to France before entering on the campaign and sending her armies into Russia. Prussia, hemmed in between two giants ready to dash against each other, had made fruitless remonstrances to the St. Petersburg Cabinet to avert war. Despairing of preventing a conflict in which, either by remaining neutral or by acting in a hostile manner towards France, the Prussian monarchy ran the risk of definitely disappearing, the Prussian Government made up its mind to solicit from the French Cabinet an alliance which it had declined at a time when it would have been very useful. But this time the royal government used all its power to bring it about. Although Napoleon could have no real trust in a cabinet which only asked for an alliance with

France because it was out of its power to wage war upon us, a purely defensive treaty of alliance was signed with Prussia on February 24th, 1812. The King undertook to supply the French army with a contingent of 20,000 men. One of the secret clauses of the treaty revealed the mistrust which, on the part of France, was so justified by the conduct of Prussia in 1806. This power, by a clause in the treaty, deprived itself of the power of making any levy of men, or of ordering any movement of troops, without having previously concerted with France.

Offering easier terms to Austria the Emperor concluded a treaty with her on March 14th of the same year. The contingent of the Austrian monarchy was fixed at 30,000 men. One of the secret clauses stipulated that if, as a consequence of the war, the Kingdom of Poland should be re-established, Austria would agree to cede a part of Galicia to be added to this kingdom in exchange for the Illyrian provinces, which France then and there agreed to abandon to her by way of compensation. In the case of a happy issue of the war France also promised to procure to Austria indemnities and increase of territory which would not only compensate her for the co-operation in this war, but which would also be "a monument of the intimate and lasting union which existed between the two sovereigns."

Negotiations were at the same time carried on with Sweden, who by her geographical position, in threatening Russia with a formidable diversion, covered the left of our army. But these negotiations were entirely lacking in good faith on the part of the Stockholm Cabinet. And to give the proof of this at once, I will

mention that whilst the Crown Prince was haggling with us over his help against Russia—May 29th, 1812—he had signed a treaty of alliance with that power two months previously, namely, on March 24th. The Swedish Cabinet had been frequently warned that if Pomerania continued to serve as a market for English trade, and as the receptacle of the libellous publications directed against France, the French Government would be obliged to occupy this province. No saisfactory answer having being received on this subject, Prince d'Eckmuehl, commanding the French troops in the Hanseatic provinces, had had possession taken of Stralsund, on January 30th, by a premature interpretation of instructions which had been given him against British commerce. Marshal Davout was authorized to take this step by the continual traffic which was going on between Stralsund and Heligoland, a rock near the coast, which had become a rich storehouse of English ammunition, goods, and libellous publications, and the hotbed of active intrigues. The occupation of Pomerania, foreseen at Stockholm, was considered inevitable; a great deal of noise, however, was made about it there. The Crown Prince, who at that time was already engaged in very advanced *pourparlers* with Russia, offered to break them off on a condition which he knew to be inacceptable. He asked that France should guarantee him the acquisition of Norway, by despoiling Denmark, our most faithful ally, whose possessions we had guaranteed. The Emperor Alexander, in order to attach Sweden to the coalition, had promised the Crown Prince to hand Norway over to him in compensation for the annexation of Finland to Russia. England, constant to her hatred for Denmark,

on account of the fidelity of this State to the French alliance, not content with ratifying this promise, had further undertaken to help Sweden in the conquest of Norway.

The perseverance of the Crown Prince in his pretensions on this country, did not stop Napoleon in his negotiations with the Stockholm Cabinet. He employed every means to reach Bernadotte's heart, and to recall him to a sense of duty and of his true interests. The Emperor even caused the Princess Royal, who was at that time in Paris, to act upon her husband with this purpose in view. Napoleon has been reproached for having left the letters which the Crown Prince addressed him unanswered for several weeks. The Emperor's communications with the Swedish Cabinet had, perhaps, to be waited for at first, but they were always calm, dignified, and marked by a spirit of conciliation, which gives a denial to the charge of haughtiness and bitterness which has been directed against them. The proof of this will be found in the notes which were exchanged between the two governments, notes which were published after 1815.

Napoleon undertook not to conclude peace until the restitution of Finland to Sweden had been obtained. If the Crown Prince, having other objects in view, could not accept this proposal, nothing in any case prevented him from remaining neutral. Honour, the constancy of France's goodwill towards Sweden, the gratitude due from Bernadotte to his first country—a gratitude which nothing rendered incompatible with his new duties—all his past, in one word, imposed neutrality at least, but his feelings of hatred got the

upper hand. Bernadotte did not content himself with declaring against France, he did more, he sent into the wilds of America for an accomplice in his desertion, General Moreau, and obtained not only the cession of Norway but also of Guadeloupe, the restitution of which France only obtained in 1814.

I speak here for the last time of the relations of the Empire with the Crown Prince of Sweden, in spite of the fact that these perfidious negotiations—for they merit this appellation—continued till the month of June, 1814. Napoleon's cutting saying about Bernadotte is known: "One is not obliged to deny one's mother, in taking a wife, and still less to wish to stab her to the heart."

The defection of Turkey was caused by the belief with which the Divan had been inspired that France was abandoning her alliance for an alliance with Russia, and by the absence at this decisive moment of our ambassador to the Sublime Porte. Since the month of January, 1812, a man eminently French, who from his mission to Turkey had kept up relations from which he obtained valuable and reliable information, the Chevalier Amédée Jaubert—alarmed at the warnings which his private letters from Constantinople gave him of the ever-growing influence exercised on the Divan by the Russians—took it upon himself to acquaint the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the matter. This minister, struck by a state of things the gravity of which had not been revealed to him by his agents, consulted the Emperor on the subject. Napoleon's keen-sightedness, which rarely was at fault, impressed him with the necessity of having at Constantinople an ambassador, whose word would have greater weight

than that of a simple *chargé d'affaires*. He accordingly immediately appointed General Andréossy ambassador to Turkey. This envoy left for Laybach, where he stopped, waiting to receive the usual presents which he was to take with him, and without which he did not wish to present himself before the Turkish authorities. In the meanwhile the skilful Russian diplomacy had not remained idle; intrigues and corruption had gained ground and made progress, which the authority of a French ambassador would probably have checked. The Emperor, since the month of June, had not ceased insisting that Constantinople should be apprised by every means of his march against Russia, so as to prop up the wavering faith of the Divan. I will not pronounce on the question to what cause the prolonged stay of Andréossy at Laybach must be attributed. The ambassador left it at last and hastened on with all diligence, but though he accomplished a part of the way at full speed, he only managed to reach Therapia on July 25th. A fictitious letter from Napoleon to the Emperor Alexander, proposing as the first clause of a treaty of peace, the division of Turkey, was put under the eyes of the Grand Vizir. Joseph Fonton, a dragoman in the pay of England, consulted by Ghalib Effendi, attested the authenticity of this document. The fact of General Narbonne's presence at Vilna helped to finally make up the mind of the Ottoman minister, and of the Sultan, who till then had refused to ratify the treaty the preliminaries of which, signed by the plenipotentiaries of the Porte and of Russia, at Bucharest, May 25th, had arrived in Constantinople on June 6th. It was only on the following 14th of July that the Sultan decided to ratify the treaty which

was to become so fatal to us. The error, or the treachery, of the Grand Vizir, which had been so prejudicial to us was punished, though not repaired, by the loss of his head, and the execution of the perfidious agents who had advised him. The ambassador Andréossy only arrived in Constantinople ten days later.

In the course of March, 1812, the Emperor, surmounting the feeling of repulsion with which M. de Talleyrand's spirit of intrigue had filled him had the idea of sending him to Warsaw. He approached him confidentially on the subject, recommending him not to mention it. Shortly afterwards Napoleon learned that ducats were being bought at Vienna on account of his minister, and that the secret of his mission had become known. The Emperor, displeased at seeing his plan exposed, and considering this domestic arrangement as a proof of collusion and a kind of stock-jobbing speculation on the Viennese public funds, abandoned the choice he had made, and appointed Abbé Pradt, who had followed him to Dresden, in Prince de Bénévent's place.

The Emperor strongly desired that the contingent supplied by Austria should be placed under the command of Prince Schwarzenberg who had been ambassador to Paris since 1809; and asked that the rank of field-marshal might be given him with this purpose in view. As the prince was one of the youngest generals of cavalry in active service, this request was evaded, and some private correspondence ensued between the two emperors. The Emperor of Austria, having alleged the rigour of military regulations, consented to be agreeable to Napoleon, whilst taking care to make it known that the nomination of Prince Charles Schwarzenberg was only due to his respect

for the recommendation of his nephew the Emperor of the French.

The answer to the message of reconciliation—with which the Emperor had charged Colonel Czernitcheff, at the time of that officer's departure from Paris for St. Petersburg—only arrived six weeks later at the Tuileries. It was Russia's ultimatum. The following were the conditions thereof: The Emperor Alexander imposed on the Emperor Napoleon, as an obligation which must precede all negotiations, the evacuation by the French troops of all Prussian states and of Swedish Pomerania, that is to say, the throwing open of the forts of the Oder and of Dantzig to the Russian invasion. These conditions having been fulfilled, Russia would consent to treat on a basis which should put no obstacle in the way of the admission of neutrals into Russian harbours, promising not to aggravate the prohibitive measures which the Russian Government had thought fit to decree for the advantage of its commerce; the St. Petersburg Cabinet declared itself ready to conclude an arrangement in favour of Sweden, and finally to accept, in exchange for the surrender of the Duchy of Oldenburg, some equivalent compensation. This notification, offensive in its form rather than in its contents, seemed so strange to Napoleon that he suspected that it must be the result of some intrigue, like the one which had just resulted in the banishment of Speranski, the privy councillor. The injunction to evacuate Germany, without any treaty having previously stipulated the terms of this evacuation, deeply wounded the Emperor's pride. It was with no sincere desire for peace that the character and dignity of such a sovereign as Napoleon were put to such a test. In

1806, the King of Prussia had forgotten himself to the point of notifying a similar summons to him. Never had Napoleon in the course of his brilliant victories dreamed of making such insulting demands on his adversaries. A note, drawn up in the sense of the proposals which we have mentioned, was handed in Paris by Prince Kurakin, the Russian ambassador, to Duke Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who evaded all discussion on this basis. Prince Kurakin asked for an audience with the Emperor, a request which could not be refused. The Emperor hid his resentment. He attributed, he said, the communications made by the ambassador solely to a misunderstanding, which he was anxious to clear up before entering upon any explanations, and added that he reserved to himself to write on the subject to the Emperor of Russia. Napoleon, with this object in view, sent Count Narbonne off to St. Petersburg at once, charged with the mission of endeavouring to find out the secret of the Czar's action, and to discover whether there remained no means of coming to an understanding with Russia. In Paris Prince Kurakin pressed for the acceptance of his proposals and demanded his passports in case of refusal, but only received evasive answers from M. de Bassano.

Whilst matters were in this state the Emperor left for Dresden, whither he was followed some days later by M. de Bassano. As to Prince Kurakin he withdrew to the country to await his passports. These were not sent to him, so as not to break off all relations with Russia.

There remained to Napoleon nothing but to confide the destiny of this great undertaking to the most

splendid army which he had ever put into the field. Wishing to dispose of all his forces, to strike a great blow, and to return promptly to Spain (where during two years he kept a detachment of his household with the chamberlain Brigode, equerries, brigades of horses, and pack-mules, and an entire campaign outfit) he awaited the moment for beginning the war, to which he had been forced, with confidence in his strength and in his right. He did not, however, lose all hopes of avoiding it, and up to the crossing of the Niemen, tried to flatter himself that some arrangement was still possible. The Emperor took advantage of every opportunity to reach Alexander's heart. He had a real affection for this prince, and a confidence in his private character which was not justified by events. He was convinced that an hour's conversation with him in private would end in a complete understanding. Later on, when hostilities were at their height, and whilst the chances of war were not yet unfavourable to him, Napoleon ordered Alexander to be written to. He even wrote to him personally by every way, either on the occasion of the passage of the flags of truce, which the exchange of some Russian generals who had been taken prisoners brought to his head-quarters, or under other circumstances, when for example he was trying to minimize the evils caused by the barbarity with which the Russians acted in this most murderous war.

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